

Community participation and the politics of schooling: School Based Management Committees in Nigeria

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I hereby declare that, except where explicit attribution is made, the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.

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Abstract

A policy to establish School Based Management Committees (SBMCs) was adopted in Nigeria in 2005. Globally, an approach to educational reform in developing countries with a focus on community management of schools has been promoted by donors since 2000. There is, however, ambiguous evidence of impact on development goals. This thesis asks why community participation continues to be extensively promoted, despite the limited evidence of impact.

The thesis examines SBMC policy and its enactment in Nigeria through case studies of ten schools in Kwara, Lagos, Kaduna, Kano and Jigawa states. Data was gathered initially from research through the DFID-funded ESSPIN project in 2009. This research explored how SBMCs were understood, and how they were implemented, from a range of perspectives. This research data was supplemented by additional interviews, documents and analysis.

A critical approach to the concept of community is central to this thesis. Community carries strong normative values, often rooted in idealised notions of the past. The thesis focuses on the politics of communities and community participation, and the fact that development policy and practice tends to ignore the politics and to focus on community-based institutions as a technical fix, thereby ignoring the power dynamics and processes of exclusion within a community or community-based institution.

Findings from data analysis show that since 2005, SBMC policy has been interpreted and enacted unevenly. This is partly explained by a crisis in education in Nigeria where growing enrolment has not been matched by increased resources and better teaching. A further explanation is that policy actors at federal, state and local government levels are active in interpreting, promoting or resisting the policy, depending on their own particular positions, motivations and incentives. For women and other marginalised groups, SBMCs serve largely to reinforce existing power relations, rather than challenging or changing them.

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

CAPP	Community Action for Popular Participation
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
CDA	Community Development Association
CLEDEP	Community Led Education Development Planning
CSACEFA	Civil Society Action Coalition on Education for All
CUBE	Capacity for Universal Basic Education
DfID	Department for International Development
ECCDE	Early Childhood Care, Development & Education
EFA	Education for All
EGBENN	Enhancing Girls' Basic Education in Northern Nigeria
ESSPIN	Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria
FME	Federal Ministry of Education
GEP	Girls' Education Project
HDI	Human Development Index
IRC	International Rescue Committee
JCCE	Joint Consultative Committee on Education
LGA	Local Government Area
LGC	Local Government Council
LGEA	Local Government Education Authority
NCE	National Council on Education
NEEDS	National Empowerment and Economic Development Strategy
NIEPA	National Institute for Educational Planning and Administration
PDP	People's Democratic Party
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
PTA	Parent Teacher Association
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SBMC	School Based Management Committee
SEEDS	State Empowerment and Economic Development Strategy
SESP	State Education Support Project
STL	State Team Leader
SUBEB	State Universal Basic Education Board
TEGINT	Transforming Education for Girls in Nigeria and Tanzania
UBEC	Universal Basic Education Commission
UBEP	Universal Basic Education Project

UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UPE	Universal Primary Education

Chapter 1: Introduction

‘...to: engender community’s interest in schools in their localities with a view to their assuming ownership of their schools’(extract from Objectives of the School Based Management Committee (Federal Ministry of Education with UNICEF, 2005, 5)

In April 2005, a group of Nigerian officials, academics, and education professionals adopted a proposal for a new school-based management policy for Nigeria. This proposal recommended that a ‘well-constituted and effective’ (Federal Ministry of Education with UNICEF, 2005, 2) School Based Management Committee (SBMC) be established in Nigerian primary schools.

The adoption of SBMC policy in Nigeria aligns with a trend in recent years for an increased focus on community participation in education in international development policy and practice (Bray, 2000; Burde, 2004; Rose, 2003a). A clear dynamic has emerged around school management, evinced through the establishment of organisations called, for example, school committees, school management committees, village education committees or school based management committees, all of which imply a degree of community participation. The notion of community that underpins approaches to community participation in education is diverse, rarely articulated and rarely questioned.

Four years after the adoption of SBMC policy, in March 2009, I visited Borgu school in Kaiama, a remote part of Kwara State, Nigeria in order to investigate how SBMCs had been put into practice since the adoption of the proposal. The research was funded by the Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria (ESSPIN), a DfID-funded education reform programme. I met some members of the newly formed SBMC, who told me that the SBMC had done much to improve the school. I met students who told me in excellent English how much they liked the school. I met some mothers and fathers of students and Local Government Education Authority (LGEA) officials who told me that this was the best primary school in the Local Government Area (LGA), and that many former students had become teachers and doctors.

These positive comments were in marked contrast to my observations, however. During my visit to Borgu school, no teaching was going on at all, perhaps because of the disruption of our visit. I observed an Early Years classroom (children aged 2-4) with more than 100 children in it, supervised by an older child with a stick. I observed three teachers sitting in the pristine home economics classroom, surrounded by unused pots, pans, ovens and childcare equipment, much of it still in its packaging. The librarian, who was guarding rows and rows of precisely organised, brand new books, insisted that pupils and members of the community were free to borrow the books. The Headteacher claimed that the six new, locked toilets were in constant use, despite the fact that pupils were defecating in the bush.

These observations suggest that the vision of the SBMC put forward by the proposal adopted at the Yola meeting as ‘effective, efficient and participatory’ (Federal Ministry of Education with UNICEF, 2005, 3) is somewhat at odds with the reality of the SBMC as it came to be enacted in the school that I visited in 2009. The policy process, from development to adoption to enactment, clearly does not follow a linear path. In this thesis, I explore and elucidate the complex factors and processes that impact on policy

development and enactment. I explore the roles and agency of different policy actors in these processes. The first factor is to do with the way in which SBMC policy, like a number of participatory interventions, draws on discourses of community in order to create institutions and position individuals in particular relationships. The concept of community thus used is not easily defined; it is infused with historical, social, cultural and political meaning which can make its deployment in achieving development goals problematic.

The development of SBMC policy in Nigeria must be understood in relation to the history, politics and socio-economic context of Nigeria and its aid relationships. UNICEF was involved in the development of SBMC policy. A question to explore in this thesis is to what extent ideas about SBMCs came from UNICEF and other international organisations, and to what extent they were home grown in Nigeria.

The contexts where policy is enacted are unique and varied, with a particular constellation of socio-economic, cultural and historical factors that make up each context, these vary widely within Nigeria. Kaiama, for example, an area cut off from Ilorin, the Kwara state capital, by poor roads, has much better transport links with the neighbouring state of Oyo, as well as over the border in Benin. The town is populated by people from a mixture of religious, ethnic and linguistic groups, and there is a strong sense of Kaiama identity linked to the local language, Bokobaru or Busa. Yam farming is an important source of income in the area, and at the time of my visit the road out of Kaiama was full of heavily laden lorries taking yams to market. The implications of this are that Kaiama town is relatively independent, with weak transport, communication and cultural ties to the state capital, Ilorin. The implications of this for SBMC policy are that directives from State government are not necessarily heeded.

In analysing the enactment of SBMC policy in diverse Nigerian contexts, this thesis contributes to debates on community participation in education, gender equality and policy enactment in international development. In doing so I seek to question a number of key orthodoxies in this field. The first is the idea that community participation in education is ineluctably a good thing. The second is the idea that gender equality can be achieved through quotas for women on SBMCs and similar bodies. The third is that policies are designed at the centre and then implemented in a linear, logical and predictable fashion. In order to question these orthodoxies I draw on a number of theoretical lenses that have combined to produce my particular perspective on community participation in education. The first of these is Foucault's approach to power and discourse, which is based on the assumption that power is diffuse and fluid and that knowledge is culturally, socially and politically produced and embedded in power relations. In this view, discourses are the product of particular moments and configurations of power that privilege some and marginalise other voices and actors. The second lens that I apply is a feminist approach; broadly defined, this means that the thesis is informed by a concern for women's interests, understanding gender relations and taking action for gender equality more broadly. Finally, I draw on a tradition of critical policy studies in education, as exemplified by the work of Stephen Ball. In this tradition, education policy in Western contexts is analysed as discourse. A Foucauldian analysis of governmentality, that is a critical view of the state, and in particular the neoliberal state, and the ways in which it creates and controls its subjects, is frequently applied. What these approaches have in

common, and what makes them useful to this study, is that they analyse and critique power relations that in international development policy and practice are not always addressed.

These three positions are linked but exhibit tensions in the extent to which they privilege meaning and interpretation over directed policy recommendation; this tension runs through this study in terms of it walking a line between describing and analysing the SBMC as a discursive construct, while at the same time producing an analysis that has meaning and relevance and practical implications for international development policy and practice. I will address these different influences and what they meant for research design in Chapter 3.

It is important to elucidate this theoretical position up front as it informs the questions that guide inquiry. A key question therefore is to ask how particular historical, social political and economic dynamics at local level link with the particular ways in which SBMC policy has been enacted. During the visit to Kaiama, a representative of the Emir was interviewed. He emphasised that he prefers to stay out of school affairs, and would not visit the school, because he might be accused of interfering. In analysing how SBMC policy is enacted, it is important therefore to bring a political analysis to bear. Who controls resources at school level? How do SBMCs fit with political structures in the locale? Do they have the capacity to disrupt and transform, or do they fit in with the status quo? The fact that a group of mothers had never heard of the SBMC, while others were ardent advocates, suggests that we need to question SBMC implementation from a gender and inclusion perspective. To what extent are SBMCs sites of inclusion and exclusion? To what extent are women able to participate, and which women actually do so? Has the introduction of SBMC has become a paper exercise which does not change existing power structures?

On a practical level, researching questions linked to community participation in education in Nigeria proved particularly challenging. For example I have noted in my research notes in March 2009 that I had to intervene during the interviews to stop researchers from lecturing informants at Kaiama, and to encourage them to listen and to note down their words. In addition I have noted how the lack of teaching and learning activity of the school was at odds with what informants said about it. This leads to a range of questions about the methodological challenges of researching community participation in this context which I will explore in this thesis. In particular, I will focus on how questions of power dynamics, history, aid relations, race and ethnicity, gender impinge on the research process.

On one level, the thesis is concerned with poor state of education in Nigeria, and the possibility that School Based Management Committees, introduced in 2007 with the support of UNICEF, can play a role in improving the situation. On another level, this thesis is concerned with a critique of community based and participatory development and the discourses around them. On yet another level, this thesis is concerned with the policies and politics of international development, and the ways in which the trajectory of policies disperse and diverge as they are enacted. And finally, this thesis is concerned with the practical and methodological challenges of researching these issues, as illustrated in the case outlined above.

Structure of the thesis

The thesis is structured as follows. **Chapter 2** provides an overview of key elements of the historical, social, economic and political context of Nigeria, in order to locate the emergence of SBMC policy.

Chapter 3 reviews the literature on community participation in education in practice, before examining a number of ways in which the concept of community has been theorised, in order to develop an analytical framework for examining approaches to participatory development in general, and community participation in education particular. **Chapter 4** introduces conceptual and methodological approaches to the research as well as reflection on the research process. **Chapter 5** introduces the SBMC policy adopted in Nigeria, describes how it was developed and introduced at federal level, and, drawing on data collected for this thesis explores how it is perceived at federal and state level, while **Chapter 6** explores through data the ways in which SBMC policy was implemented in particular states. **Chapter 7** considers how the politics of state and local government were important in the enactment of SBMC policy. **Chapter 8** focuses on the operation of SBMCs, in particular on how they are gendered and sites of inclusion and exclusion. Finally, **Chapter 9** offers concluding comments and reflections on theory.

Chapter 2: Locating SBMCs: the Nigeria context

Treating participation as situated practice calls for approaches that locate spaces for participation in the places in which they occur, framing their possibilities with reference to actual political, social, cultural and historical particularities rather than idealised notions of democratic practice (Cornwall, 2002, 50).

With its great size and cultural, political and historical diversity and complexity, general statements about Nigeria are unlikely to hold true. However, a research study set in Nigeria must attempt to describe its unique national characteristics, while also acknowledging local diversity and difference, and the importance of considering both national and local settings. This chapter seeks to set the context for the study, by describing the historical, social, economic, political and educational background in Nigeria. It outlines the development of SBMC policy, and describes the broader policy context within which it emerged. In particular, through an examination of key texts and policy documents, it traces ideas about community and community participation, in order to understand how they are viewed in the literature. In this way, I seek to locate the emergence of SBMC policy.

The socio-economic and educational context

Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa, although population figures are disputed. According to the National Population Commission, Nigeria's population was 140,431,790 in 2006 (National Population Commission, 2006). This means that Nigeria accounts for 47% of the population of West Africa. However, Nigeria has a contested history, with census results used for political means, since federal allocation of oil wealth depends on census counts (Suberu, 2001; Tiffen, 2001). Nigeria's population is made up of more than 200 ethnic groups, the largest groups being the Hausa-Fulani in the North, Igbo in the Southeast, and Yoruba in the south west. The north is predominantly Muslim while the South is predominantly Christian. However, migrant communities from other parts of Nigeria, as well as other parts of Africa, are present in every large city, often with a particular economic niche:

Northerners live in large southern cities where they are particularly associated with the livestock trade and money-changing. Southerners are scattered throughout all major northern towns and are often the main players in long-distance trade. Lebanese families, often long-resident in Nigeria, are strongly associated with light manufactures, milling etc. Southerners tend to be concentrated in particular areas in northern towns, usually known as the Sabon Gari (Blench et al., 2006, 34)

The fact that communities are diverse and changing has implications for a policy, such as SBMC policy, which is based on a particular notion of community.

Nigeria is rich in natural resources, in particular oil; however, the majority of the population lives in poverty. According to the UNDP's Human Development Index, Nigeria is ranked 153rd out of 186 countries (UNDP, 2011)¹. The multi-dimensional poverty index, which takes account of a number of factors that constitute poor people's experience of deprivation as well as lack of income, including poor

¹ The Human Development Index (HDI) is a summary measure of human development. It measures the average achievements in a country in three basic dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life, access to knowledge and a decent standard of living.

health, lack of education, living standards, disempowerment, poor quality of work and threat from violence is 0.310², which means that 31.0% of the population is multi-dimensionally poor. In terms of key social indicators, life expectancy at birth is 51.9 years (UNDP, 2011).

Women and girls in Nigeria have ‘significantly worse life chances than men and also their sisters in comparable societies’ (British Council Nigeria, 2012). Although women’s income is increasing, they earn, on average, less than men, and their income is increasing at a slower rate than men. For example in 2007 Nigerian men received on average the equivalent of N2,300 per month more than Nigerian women. The income gap rose by a minimum of US\$23 per month during this period (Oyelere, 2007, 20).

Women have less access to income opportunities and the formal labour market than men, with a labour force participation rate of 39.2%, compared to 73.4% for men (UNDP, 2011, 141). Lower incomes in rural areas impact more on women than men, since women make up a greater proportion of the rural labour force (British Council Nigeria, 2012, 20). There are strong regional differences in gender disparities. Nigeria has one of the highest rates of maternal mortality in the world, with 840 deaths per 100,000 live births (2008 figures) (UNDP, 2011, 141). 47% of Nigerian women are mothers before the age of 20 (British Council Nigeria, 2012, 39). Women and girls face barriers in accessing basic services, for example only 36% of women deliver in a health facility or in the presence of a qualified birth attendant (British Council Nigeria, 2012, 40). Women are under-represented in political decision-making processes at all levels, for example 7% of seats in national parliament are held by women (2010 figures) (World Bank, 2010). There are elevated rates of violence against women and girls, for example one in three of all women aged 15-24 has experienced violence, according to data from the Demographic Health Survey (National Bureau of Statistics, 2008).

In terms of education, the brief snapshot provided in Table 1 below indicates that net enrolment rates in primary education are relatively low (61%), and that there is a considerable further drop in NER at secondary level (26%). Adult literacy and primary and secondary NER figures appear to have declined between 2005 and 2007. The gender gap at both levels is significant. While these figures are very ‘broad brush’, they provide an indication of the severe development challenges facing Nigeria.

	M	F	Total	Source
Adult literacy rate³	72%	50%	61%	UIS (2010 figures)
NER (primary)⁴	60.1%	54.8%	57.6%	UIS (2010 figures)
Primary completion	78.8%	69.7%	74.4%	UIS (2010 figures)

² Composite measure of the percentage of deprivations that the average person would experience if the deprivations of poor households were shared equally across the population.

³ 15 and over

⁴ 2005 data

NER (secondary) ⁵	28%	23%	26%	UIS estimates (2007)
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Table 1: Key education indicators. Source (UNESCO, 2012)

It is important however to note that these figures conceal significant regional variation.

Historical context

The notion of community is central to this thesis, and the history of this idea is a troubled one in the Nigerian context. The country's history has been tempestuous since independence from Britain in 1960, while there have been some periods of relative peace, with long periods of military rule from 1966 onwards. By 1967 political, economic, religious and ethnic tensions led to attempted secession of the south eastern states as the Republic of Biafra. A three year civil war ensued, with somewhere between 1 million (Meredith, 2006, 204) and 3 million people dying, mostly from disease and starvation, before the Biafrans surrendered (Falola and Heaton, 2008, 180).

During the 1970s, there was a strong political focus on reconstruction following the civil war and building a sense of national unity. The oil boom which started during that period brought great wealth, but has also been described as a contributory factor to the corruption that has plagued modern Nigeria, as well as fuelling the ethnic conflict in the Niger delta (Falola and Heaton, 2008, 183), although it should be emphasised that other complex factors are at play, including the historical political marginalisation of this region (Asgill, 2012; Watts, 2007). However, political uncertainty and coups continued until the return to civilian rule under President Shehu Shagari in 1979 (Falola and Heaton, 2008, 201).

The 1980s were characterised by political and economic instability. In 1983 military rulers again took over in the first of a series of coups. The oil boom of the 1970s was not sustained because of the fall in oil prices and a period of economic depression and widespread unemployment followed (Meredith, 2006, 221). A programme of structural adjustment was undertaken from 1986-1990, which reduced state spending on education and other services (Falola and Heaton, 2008, 220).

This period of increased political repression and corruption reached its peak in the 1990s, after Sani Abacha took over in another military coup in 1993. The Abacha period was notorious for corruption and human rights abuses:

From his fortified presidential complex at Aso Rock in Abuja, he relished the use of raw power to crush all opponents and to amass a personal fortune, acting with a degree of ruthlessness that outstripped that of all his predecessors (Meredith, 2006, 574).

According to the International Centre for Asset Recovery, Sani Abacha of Nigeria is suspected to have looted between US \$3 billion to US\$ 5 billion of public money (Asset Recovery Knowledge Centre, 2007). Abacha died in 1998 and a handover to civilian rule was initiated once again. Elections took place in 1999 which were won by Olusegun Obasanjo of the People's Democratic Party (PDP).

⁵ 2005 data

The return of civilian rule has not, unfortunately, signalled the end of ethnic conflict, corruption and poverty. Obasanjo was a military leader during the Biafra war and had been president during military rule in 1976. Obasanjo served two terms as president (1999-2003) and his legacy is mixed. He is credited with re-establishing democracy and a degree of stability in Nigeria after the long years of military rule. However, opinions differ as to whether he has presided over continued corruption and failed to see through reforms (Falola and Heaton, 2008, 242), or whether the country that he governed was simply 'ungovernable': 'The decay in Nigeria was too deep-rooted, its system of corruption too deeply embedded, to allow for easy solutions' (Meredith, 2006, 587).

The politics of ethnic affiliation have continued to play a central role since the end of Obasanjo's period as president. The 2007 elections were won by Umaru Yar'Adua, also a PDP candidate, and a northerner. Yar'Adua made some progress in addressing the unrest in the Niger Delta and tackling the reform of the state oil company and electricity supplies, however progress was hampered by ill health, and he died in 2010 (Whiteman, 2010). Goodluck Jonathan was elected President in 2011, and although elections were praised by some as being open and transparent (The Economist, 2011a), the task before Jonathan (a southerner) is huge, not least since his election overturned the well-established practice of rotating the presidency between geopolitical regions (Page, 2013). According to the Economist, state corruption is the highest item on the agenda:

Power in Nigeria is exerted by groups, not individuals. The country is too big for one man to rule. Even military leaders two decades ago chose to share power with a clique. A system of ethnic and regional quotas has developed. Jobs in all institutions are apportioned. Each of Nigeria's 36 state governments, for example, proposes one cabinet minister. Loyalty in cabinet is rarely to the president, but to the godfather who picked the minister—and now expects a share of the loot (The Economist, 2011a, online).

This analysis points to the ongoing importance of regional and ethnic divisions. In addition, it points to the central importance of patron-client relationships in Nigerian society: as Morgan et al (2010) explain in their study of youth in Kano, 'nearly all individuals, in contexts important to them, seek to curry favour with potential patrons and gather clients whose service they can rely upon' (Morgan, Mohammed and Abdullahi, 2010, 83).

Patron-client relationships are an essential element of communities - or 'group' in this analysis - but they are complex and multifaceted idea in this context, incorporating ethnic, gender, religious, regional, and family identities. In addition it should be added that while the concept of corruption is central to many descriptions and discussions of the Nigerian state, corruption can be understood as a breach of legal and financial rules (Nye, 1967) or as a complex and multi-faceted concept which underpins Nigerian society, an understanding of which is essential to understanding social and community dynamics, and indeed community participation: 'corruption frequently occurs as the result of social strategies, cultural logics, and moral economies that assign values different from those assumed in the ideologies of the neoliberal bureaucratic state' (Smith, 2008, 12).

The reality of a history of communal conflict in Nigeria, is one where analysts have attempted to point out the political, rather than religious or ethnic roots of such conflict (Asgill, 2012; Watts, 2007). For

example, Angerbrandt points out the dangers of 'localising' politics in Kaduna, which has a history of ethnic conflict (Angerbrandt, 2011):

New conflicts emerge when these identity-based demands for political autonomy are met and it also shows that even rural communities are not as homogeneous as presumed. The conflicts are rooted in a feeling of marginalisation and domination of other (local) groups (Angerbrandt, 2011, 27).

The disconnect between citizens and their government is profound in three ways. First, a history of autocratic military rule has disrupted relations between citizen and state. Secondly, oil wealth has financed widespread corruption and vote-buying, so that 'citizens' opinion of the government becomes irrelevant' (Falola and Heaton, 2008, 184). Finally, corrupt practices are a phenomenon which must be navigated, resisted and participated in on a daily basis for many people. SBMCs were therefore introduced in a context where the roots of grassroots democratic practice are not deep.

Aid relationships

An examination of Nigerian foreign policy needs to take account firstly of Nigeria's colonial experience, the civil war, and the mixed blessing of Nigeria's natural resources. Oil reserves are both a bargaining chip and a resource that others desire. According to post-colonial analysis, Nigerian foreign policy has sought to oppose colonialism and imperialism by promoting and co-ordinating African unity (Falola and Heaton, 2008, 258). Nevertheless, prior to the 1970s Nigeria's economy depended largely on exports to UK, so good relationships with the former colonial power and other Western countries were considered paramount. For example, on independence Nigeria joined the Commonwealth, kept its distance from the Soviet Union and supported the Western stance of opposition to Lumumba in the Congo (Falola and Heaton, 2008, 258-259).

Nigerian alignment with the west changed in the aftermath of the civil war, during which the UK and the US in particular adopted an 'arms-length' approach to the Federal Military Government in its struggle with the Biafran secessionists (Abegunrin, 2003, 52). Indeed, one view has it that 'International involvement in the Nigerian Civil War undoubtedly helped to prolong the conflict' (Falola and Heaton, 2008, 178). The UK and USA position angered the federal military government, which turned to USSR instead. From 1968 sympathy for Biafra grew worldwide, and some European and Asian countries provided supplies and support, including France and Portugal (Abegunrin, 2003, 48). The humanitarian aid provided by international NGOs, for example the International Rescue Committee (IRC), provided humanitarian aid to Biafrans which may, according to some, have extended the war by enabling the Biafrans to hold out longer (Falola and Heaton, 2008). The result was a deliberate distancing during the 1970s from UK and other western regimes: 'Nigerian foreign policy became more radicalized, often resulting in direct confrontations with Western powers, most notably the United States and the United Kingdom' (Falola and Heaton, 2008, 259).

In terms of oil, one view is that Nigeria's oil wealth has been used as a 'bargaining chip' (Abegunrin, 2003, 70) with Western powers and has been referred to as the 'oil weapon' as an instrument of foreign policy. In addition, Nigeria has used its oil wealth to give technical and financial assistance to other

African countries (Falola and Heaton, 2008, 262). However, the price to pay for this wealth is that the world has often wanted something from Nigeria:

There's a type of terrifying historical continuity in this history of Nigeria's central involvement with world markets, as a supplier of, initially, slaves, then other commodities, and now a particular type of hydrocarbon, all of which have been central to the emergence of modernity itself (Watts, 2009)

The notion that Nigeria has been central to the emergence of modernity is intriguing, it is clear that Nigeria's resource riches have put it in a strong position both within and beyond Africa.

Nigeria was able to pursue an independent economic policy as long as the oil boom funded the state. However, with the world oil glut in 1981, oil prices dropped, total oil revenues declined from N12.3 billion in 1980 to N7.3 billion in 1983 (Falola and Heaton, 2008, 203). As a result, the government of Shagari sought outside aid, in the form of a N1.5 billion loan from the IMF in 1982. By 1983 external debt was at \$18 billion, and as a result, inflation rose, unemployment rose, prices of domestic goods rose, and wages decreased in real terms (Meagher and Yunusa, 1996, 2).

According to Falola & Heaton, this time of austerity and suffering is directly linked to the increasing importance of religion and the rise of community in public discourse: 'Most religious movements that developed at this time were peaceful, self-help organisations that saw community solidarity as a form of social organisation providing an alternative to citizenship' (Falola and Heaton, 2008, 205). This view sets community as firmly in opposition to the state. The 'convergence of state and civil society' that they observe took an extreme form with Buhari's 'war against indiscipline' (Ekwe-Ekwe, 1985). Muhammadu Buhari was a Major General in the Nigerian army who became Commander-in-Chief and Head of State after the coup that overthrew Shagari in 1983. According to a BBC profile, as part of this campaign, 'he ordered Nigerians to form neat queues at bus stops, under the sharp eyes of whip-wielding soldiers. Civil servants who were late for work were publicly humiliated by being forced to do "frog jumps".' (BBC, 2011). This could be seen as co-option of the idea of community for the purposes of state control and provides a compelling example of how in Nigeria community initiatives have been used for the purposes of state control and even the humiliation of its citizens.

Nigeria's debt repayments quickly became unmanageable. By 1985, the federal government was spending 38.7% of its total revenue on debt servicing (Falola and Heaton, 2008, 215). In 1985, Buhari was overthrown by Ibrahim Babangida, who encouraged public debate on governance issues, but this has been interpreted as government seeking 'to imbue his tenure with legitimacy by using more democratic rhetoric' (Falola and Heaton, 2008, 217). For example, Babangida encouraged public debate over the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), asking whether they should allow IMF to dictate SAP terms or whether Nigeria should institute SAP reforms on its own. In the end, Nigeria instituted its own SAP reforms, monitored by the World Bank. Although some argue that the SAP had some positive impacts, on for example economic growth and expansion of employment (Moser, Rogers and van Til, 1997, 1), a more common position is that 'its tangible effects were devastating to the average Nigerian'

(Falola and Heaton, 2008, 218). There is an interesting suggestion that public debate was used to engender support for Structural Adjustment and the economic hardships that went with it:

The most important issue over which Babangida encouraged such public debate was that of the SAP. Babangida was intent on securing an agreement to reschedule Nigeria's debts, but realized that allowing the IMF to dictate the terms and control the process by which SAP measures would be enforced was unpopular in Nigeria. Babangida threw the issue open to the public, asking for an open debate over whether Nigeria should accept the IMF package outright, instituting a full-scale SAP and taking the IMF loan that came with it, or whether Nigeria should decline the loan and institute SAP reforms on its own. Public opinion overwhelmingly supported the latter option, as it allowed Nigeria to avoid the image of a beggar nation willing to compromise its sovereignty for Western aid (Falola and Heaton, 2008, 217)

Although it is unclear how exactly this public debate was managed, one possible explanation (which would require validation) here that as with Buhari's approach, an appeal to community values was in fact used to control the population and to shore up state control.

In terms of civil society, during the Abacha regime, the Nigerian state became increasingly isolated internally and externally (Maier, 2000, 3). Abacha's regime of corruption and repression, and especially the hanging of Ken Saro-Wiwa in 1994 led to Nigeria being suspended from Commonwealth and becoming a 'pariah' nation (Falola and Heaton, 2008, 232). Saro-Wiwa was a writer and political activist of the Ogoni ethnic minority in Rivers state, who was sentenced to death along with seven other activists on trumped-up murder charges. Since 1984, civil society organisations including unions, religious organisations, pro-democracy organisations have become increasingly organised in terms of challenging government and providing services (Falola and Heaton, 2008, 210). This had the result of increasing oppression but also forced the regime to consult public opinion, most notably on structural adjustment and the transition to democratic rule (Falola and Heaton, 2008, 209). According to this analysis, community-based organisations, while instrumental in forcing the transfer of power in 1999, have also played a part in exacerbating social tensions, for example clashes between Christian and Muslim groups, particularly in northern Nigeria, and the current upsurge of militant activity in the Niger Delta which began with the Kaiama declaration of 1998.

Donor aid to Nigeria has historically been low, but peaked at USD 11 billion in 2006. In 2007 it was roughly USD 2 billion, falling to just over USD 1 billion in 2008, and USD 1.7 billion in 2009 (World Bank, 2012b). Much of the 2006 peak was debt relief, as part of a deal struck by the Obasanjo government the Paris Club to cancel part of its debt, with savings earmarked for MDG funding. This reduced foreign debt from \$35 billion to \$5 billion (Alsop and Rogger, 2008). A Norad report on governance reform explains low levels of foreign aid by the fact that Nigeria is a middle income country (Amundsen, 2010). Key donors active in Nigeria in 2012 include USAID, DFID, EU, UNDP and World Bank. AfDB, the World Bank and DFID have a joint country strategy for Nigeria (ADB *et al.*, 2009). In recent years, DFID and World Bank strategy has been characterised by a strategic focus on a small number of key states where development objectives can be met. Although donor expenditure has been moving towards better harmonisation in line with the principles of the Paris Declaration, the Norad report lists at least ten donors funding governance and democratisation programmes (Amundsen, 2010). It notes that CSOs and NGOs have been embraced by the donor community and that approaches to democratisation have been

limited, and technical rather than political in their focus: 'The donor community has also had a 'technocratic' approach to democratisation, with emphasis on efficiency in governmental service delivery (health, education, electricity, water)' (Amundsen, 2010, 36). This is despite the fact that the major focus of expenditure by development partners for governance since the 1990s has been on elections.

Approaches based on consultation and community focused initiatives have a long history in Nigeria. As discussed earlier in this chapter, both military and civilian governments have used consultation to legitimise initiatives that were unpopular or repressive, for example Buhari's 'war against indiscipline' and Babangida's cooption of the debate on Structural Adjustment. Similarly, popular expressions of demand have been used for political and communal purposes, for example in the development of new states. Finally, donor organisations are actively involved in the institutions of state through governance programmes. This is the case in education, as well as other sectors.

Education in Nigeria

This section focuses on the current situation, and key moments in the development of the education system in Nigeria, and seeks to locate this policy development with the changing economic and political context. It also seeks to draw out the relationship between education and community-based initiatives.

Missionaries first introduced Western education into what is now Nigeria in the mid 19th century (Imam, 2012, 181). However, this type of missionary education was exclusive in that very few children had access to it, as well as limited, in that it schooled children into having modest aspirations:

One of the most burning issues in the development of Nigerian nationalism was the qualitative and quantitative inadequacy of Western education. As to content, the schools equipped the African with little more than an elementary knowledge of the English language for an economic future in which a senior clerkship was the upper limit of his permissible advancement' (Coleman, 1971, 116)

By 1939, only 12% of Nigerian children of school age were in school (Coleman, 1971). From 1945 onwards, however, there was massive expansion in primary education. The model of education used was a British one. Lugard, the first governor of the unified colony of Nigeria (1914-1919), established an inspectorate in 1919 which emphasised discipline, buildings, adequacy of teaching staff and examination results. By 1950, there was a British-style model of education in place with wide participation at primary level, sorting into academic and vocational streams at secondary, and elite tertiary education for future leaders (Falola and Heaton, 2008, 138) .

The 1970s, with post-war reconstruction and the oil boom saw a further expansion of education. As stated in the Second National Development Plan, 'a country like Nigeria cannot afford to leave education to the whims and caprices of individual choice' (Federal Government of Nigeria, 1970, 235). The plan itself is dominated by the federal government, with no mention at all of parents, or the community. Universal Primary Education (UPE) was introduced in 1976, and was made compulsory in 1979, perhaps as a direct result of oil revenues (Federal Government of Nigeria, 1975). Implementation of UPE was,

however, hampered by poor planning (Fafunwa, 1991), lack of financial and human resources, planning data and scope of implementation (Theobald et al., 2007).

During the unrest and austerity of the 1980s, the emphasis of education policy shifted from federal to local government, with the beginnings of decentralization in the Fourth National Development Plan of 1981 (Federal Government of Nigeria, 1981) and the first National Policy on Education, also published in 1981.

A series of rolling development plans was introduced from 1990. Although the First Rolling Plan was not available to this researcher, the objective of the rolling plan model was to put in place a planning system which was flexible in the face of economic, social and political turmoil. The Second Rolling Plan (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1991) focused on rehabilitation, and new national policy on education. The First National Rolling Plan (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1990) is notable for repeated mention of economic crisis and a strong focus on the private sector; in some policy areas, including education the federal government appears to be taking back control from State governments. The first mention of the 'community' in selected policy documents from 1970 - 2010 is evident in this text. This appears in relation to Early Childhood Care, Development and Education (ECCDE), which has the policy objective of 'a smooth transition from home to school'. It suggests:

...advocacy and mobilisation through enlightenment campaigns to boost demand as well as community, NGO and international co-operation through participation in the provision of pre-primary education. (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1990: 186)

This plan suggests that the community – as well as NGOs and international organisations – are seen as a crucial source of support at a time of economic and political instability. There are no other mentions of community in the document.

In recent years there have been a plethora of education sector analysis, planning and policy documents, including Education Situation Analysis (ESA), the National Framework (Federal Ministry of Education (FME), 2007), the Ten Year Plan (Government of Nigeria, 2007), State sector analyses (Jigawa State Ministry of Education, 2008; Kaduna State Ministry of Education, 2008; Kano State Ministry of Education, 2008a; Kwara State Ministry of Education, 2008), the Roadmap for education (Federal Ministry of Education, 2009), and Vision 2020 (National Planning Commission, 2009a). The Education Sector Analysis, led by the FME, was started in 2000, with support from several development partners including JICA and UNESCO. The objective was to assess critically past and current reform measures and the sectors general performance (Government of Nigeria, 2005, 4). However, the progress of the ESA project was problematic, due to confusion around its aims, objectives, implementations and deliverables (Higginson and Harutyunyan, 2005, 12). The National Framework was conceived as a framework for the development of state level plans, in response to national level planning (Federal Ministry of Education (FME), 2007). The Ten Year Plan was produced by the FME in response to the perceived 'current crisis in education' (Government of Nigeria, 2007, 1), following the education situation analysis, a vision statement produced for Vision 2020 ('Become an emerging economy model, delivering sound education policy and management for public good' (Government of Nigeria, 2007, 1)), the National Framework and

the work of task teams in 11 key areas (Government of Nigeria, 2007, 2). In Kaduna, Kwara, Lagos, Jigawa and Kano, State sector analyses were conducted with the support of the ESSPIN programme, although the NTWG notes that on the whole, such analyses have been uneven. The Roadmap for the Education Sector (Federal Ministry of Education, 2009) outlines a strategy for arriving at a goal of 'High performing schools and high achieving, functional, and self-reliant students' (Federal Ministry of Education, 2009, 14). Finally, Vision 2020 is 'a long term plan for stimulating Nigeria's economic growth and launching the country onto a path of sustained and rapid socio-economic development' (National Planning Commission, 2009a, 10). It sought to integrate NEEDS with the agenda of the 2007-2011 administration and was informed by the development of a National Technical Working Groups on a range of issues, including education (National Planning Commission, 2009b).

The government continued to articulate a strong focus on the importance of education for example in the Ten Year Strategic Plan (Government of Nigeria, 2007), which was produced as a response to a perceived crisis in education and the Roadmap for the Nigerian Education sector (Federal Ministry of Education, 2009).

The current Nigerian education system is highly complex, with responsibilities divided between Local Government Education Authority (LGEA), State and Federal government. The Federal government is responsible for policy making and the enforcement of standards at primary and secondary levels. Both Federal and State governments legislate on the planning, organization and management of education. Primary schools are managed by LGEAs while secondary education, adult and non-formal education are managed by State government. Examinations are managed by the West African Examinations Council, a supra-national body, and the National Examinations Council, although at the time of writing the future of the NEC is in question. At federal level, the National Council on Education (NCE) is the key education policy-making institution. Its members include the Federal Minister of Education and all state Commissioners of Education. The role of the Universal Basic Education Commission (UBEC) and the State Universal Basic Education Boards (SUBEBs) is to ensure effective implementation of Education For All (EFA) at federal and State levels (Theobald *et al.*, 2007).

Although accurate figures on public financing of education are difficult to come by, commentators agree that there has been a marked increase in federal level financing in recent years (Theobald *et al.*, 2007). Federal Government funds for infrastructure and instructional materials should flow from state government through SUBEB to the school. The federal government supports implementation of UBE through an allocation to state level (N27.8bn in 2005), which should be matched at state level (Theobald *et al.*, 2007, 13). Local Government Councils (LGCs) pay teacher salaries in primary schools. In practice, disbursements at both federal and state levels are often delayed, and allocations to local government vary widely (Theobald *et al.*, 2007). Parent Teacher Association (PTA) levies provided funds for day-to-day school costs (e.g. teaching materials). PTA levies were abolished in Lagos, Kaduna and Jigawa in 2009, while they continue in Kwara and Kano, however, which means that many schools have lost a source of funds for day-to-day activities.

SBMC policy

The development of SBMCs has been a very complex process, with many different initiatives working with different interpretations of the policy. The current 'Guidance notes for SBMCs' (Federal Ministry of Education with UNICEF, 2005) were adopted by the Joint Consultative Committee on Education (JCCE) in 2007. The Guidance Notes include detailed information on objectives, constitution and roles and responsibilities of SBMCs. According to the memo accompanying these notes, they were developed by a sub-committee constituted by the FME which went round the country in 2005 looking at school management practice. According to the memo, an initiative in Benue state, in the 'middle belt' region of Nigeria, the 'Partnership in Primary Education', was particularly influential:

The Benue experience appears to have been influenced by thrust for greater community involvement, a more democratic management style, increased efficiency and transparency underpinned by good record keeping and utilization of effective management tools, as well as by greater teacher and pupil participation in school administration (Federal Ministry of Education with UNICEF, 2005: 3).

No other information on the Benue project was available; the memo notes however that the Benue experience 'derives from an emergent global trend' (Federal Ministry of Education with UNICEF, 2005: 3) in school management.

According to the Guidance Notes (Federal Ministry of Education with UNICEF, 2005), SBMCs support EFA goals of enrolment, retention and achievement in schools. The rationale is that having more of a say will increase community commitment to schools; community resources can be harnessed; women and students can have a greater say in their schools; community involvement will make them more effective and accountable; and the committee will support the Headteacher (Federal Ministry of Education with UNICEF, 2005). The policy document will be analysed in more detail in Chapter 5. However, the legal and policy status of SBMCs remains unclear, in that it is not clear from the Guidance Notes whether they have the status of guidelines, or policy prescriptions.

The proposal for the establishment of SBMCs was approved at the 52nd meeting of the NCE in 2005, thus making it mandatory for all schools to establish an SBMC; however implementation has been limited (Akinsolu and Onibon, 2009). A programme of training for SBMCs was conducted in 2008-2009, using the Virtual Poverty Fund from Paris Club debt relief (Akinsolu and Onibon, 2009). The training focused on 20 states⁶ selected because of their 'high gender disparity', although what exact criteria were used is not specified. An interim report of the FME programme of SBMC training (Akinsolu and Onibon, 2009), reports on the training which used a cascade model. Initial training was conducted at zonal level, in Minna, Akwa, Yola, Kano, Bauchi and Sokoto states. Oyo training was conducted separately. 65 representatives from SUBEB, SMoE, LGEA, FME, CSACEFA and SBMCs were trained at each zonal workshop, and they then 'stepped down' the training to all 20 focus states at senatorial level (3 in each

⁶ North East Zone: Bauchi, Gombe, Borno. North West Zone: Sokoto, Kebbi, Zamfara, Kano, Katsina. North Central Zone: Niger, Kaduna, Nassarawa. South East Zone: Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi. North East Zone: Adamawa, Taraba, Yobe. Jigawa.

state) which included representatives from all LGAs, including SBMC members, Education Secretaries, Women's leaders, Community leaders, head teachers, SUBEB and Local Government Education Authority officials, religious leaders and the Civil Society representatives. The training materials which are annexed to the report focus strongly on community, and how to foster community participation – but there is no discussion of what community is, where it starts and ends. In addition there is an absence of discussion of how there might be different needs or priorities within the community.

A study of the role of LGAs and LGEAs in implementing basic education (Williams, 2009) suggests that there is currently a lack of clarity as to the role of LGEAs in supporting SBMCs, and that '[t]raining in setting up and supporting SBMCs has been given to different stakeholders by different organisations and this does not seem to be cohesive' (Williams, 2009: 15).

Despite the articulation of SBMC policy, references to community in general, or SBMCs in particular are uneven in broader education sector planning and policy. For example the final report of the Education Situation Analysis (ESA) makes only one reference to SBMCs, suggesting that inspectors could 'play a critical role in enhancing management capability by monitoring ... the development of School Based Management Committees' (Federal Ministry of Education, 2007, 31). The National Framework (Federal Ministry of Education (FME), 2007) also makes only one reference to SBMCs, as part of the strategy to implement the policy objective in senior secondary education to 'Promote a culture of maintenance of facilities based on best practice to ensure sustainability' (Federal Ministry of Education (FME), 2007, 31). Specifically, 'SBMC and PTA Project Committees to be responsible for use of existing manuals for maintenance' (Federal Ministry of Education (FME), 2007, 31). In the Ten Year Plan (Government of Nigeria, 2007), the establishment of SBMCs and operational guidelines are listed as a policy objective only under the finance section of the plan. This would seem to indicate that SBMCs are viewed primarily as a financial strategy, rather than linked to quality, standards or equity objective. State sector analyses vary in terms of their references to SBMCs; this will be considered in more depth in chapter 4.

The Roadmap for Education (Federal Ministry of Education, 2009) has a strong focus on SBMCs. For example, one of its proposed 'turn-around strategies' is to '[s]trengthen school management and accountability by involving communities through SBMCs' (Federal Ministry of Education, 2009, 37). Vision 2020 (National Planning Commission, 2009a) contains no reference to SBMCs, although the report of the Education sector working group contains specific recommendations to formalise and strengthen the role of SBMCs under the goal 'Promote Good Governance, transparency and accountability' (National Planning Commission, 2009b, 71). This uneven focus is commensurate with the earlier observation that the policy and legal status of SBMCs is ambivalent and that as institutions they are seen as instrumental – i.e. important to achieve specific technical objectives such as school maintenance.

Analysis of the situation of community participation in education is weak or absent in all of these documents, despite the fact that mechanisms for community participation figure prominently as solutions to the perceived problems of the education system. The Education Situation Analysis (ESA)

includes a bottleneck analysis as a summary, in which a lack of community participation is mentioned as one of the causes of poor governance and management (Federal Ministry of Education, 2007, 39), however, this is not discussed or analysed anywhere in the body of the report. The National Framework (Federal Ministry of Education (FME), 2007), does not mention community participation in the main body of the report which focuses on issues, challenges and constraints. However, it outlines certain key policies, strategies and targets 'that have to be adopted and need to form the basis of further elaboration in federal and state plans' (Federal Ministry of Education (FME), 2007, 10). These are:

Table 2: Community focus in education policies (Source: Federal Ministry of Education (FME), 2007)

Policy	Strategies	Targets
Enhance the effectiveness of the three tiers of government in exercising their roles and responsibilities for the provision of education.	Federal and State authorities jointly to establish arrangements by which a level of autonomy can be granted to the lowest level of education provision (eg School Management Committees with the Headteacher, PTA, Unions and community representatives)	2010
Make curriculum more relevant to the needs of the 21 st century.	Ensure regular and thorough curriculum review in response to the needs of the community, business and the world by involving human resources managers of multi-nationals and banks to ensure that the curriculum improves the employability chances of the student	2010
Provide a high quality counseling and guidance system to ensure a comprehensive student.	Build on existing partnership with community private sector and higher education.	2010

This raises two questions. Is there a lack of analysis of the situation of community participation, or has it been left out? One implication is that community participation issues are seen as belonging in the realm of state and local government planning, and are therefore pushed down to those levels. It is interesting to note that where community appears in strategies above, it is in quite different ways. Firstly, the suggestion that more autonomous schools and SBMCs will result in increased effectiveness of government. Second, that curriculum needs to respond to community needs in terms of employability, and finally, that counselling and guidance system needs to be provided in partnership with the community. This inconsistency, as we shall see, has implications for whether the policy is implemented and how it is interpreted.

In the Ten Year Plan (Government of Nigeria, 2007), there are a few references to community. Policy plans include '[s]upport community driven needs programmes to facilitate the implementation of nomadic education' (Government of Nigeria, 2007, 16), which suggests perhaps a focus on community consultation. Under the heading 'standards', a further policy plan is 'Institutionalize Community Accountability and Transparency Initiative (CATI)' (Government of Nigeria, 2007, 19). This refers to a programme established by former Minister of Education Obiageli Ezekwesili which aimed to increase transparency in the education sector by publishing budgets to enable them to hold government to

account. Although this education-specific initiative has been stalled since 2011 (CSACEFA, 2011), it has been superseded by the BudgIT initiative, which aims to make the budget accessible to all Nigerians⁷. A final policy initiative is , communications strategy that is community-based (Government of Nigeria, 2007, 28).

State sector analyses vary in terms of their approach to community and community participation; again this will be considered in more depth in chapter 4. In the Roadmap for education (Federal Ministry of Education, 2009), school community relationships are proposed as a key element of quality assurance (Federal Ministry of Education, 2009, 24).

Vision 2020 incorporates the support of community participation in school management as a key element of junior secondary education only (National Planning Commission, 2009a, 69). The operationalisation of CATI is also included as a 'turn-around strategy': 'Institutionalise the Community Accountability and Transparency Initiatives (CATI) at all levels of Basic Education' (National Planning Commission, 2009a, 69) although what exactly this would involve is not spelled out. The report of the education sector working group analyses the reasons for low enrolment in basic education from cost, supply and demand side issues. On the demand side, it suggests,

There is limited accountability and participation of stakeholders. The poor people are too weak to organize themselves to put pressure on government to demand for the delivery of good quality education and accountability. They are largely voiceless and unable to articulate demand or participate in policy decisions. In addition, the poor quality of learning, culture, and corruption are reasons why parents do not demand educational services for their children (National Planning Commission, 2009b, 21-22).

This paragraph suggests that it is poor people who are somehow at fault for failures of accountability and participation, although failures on demand side – ie poor quality of education provision – is also recognised. The report includes the following strategies to promote good governance, transparency and accountability: 'i. Support community participation in school management; ii) Encourage information dissemination and knowledge management; iii) Ensure transparency of budgets and school standards' (National Planning Commission, 2009b, 71). So while community participation figures as an important solution, the question, given the limited analysis, is to what extent there has been an engagement with the complex, time consuming strategies and resources required to achieve these solutions, and whether by problematising communities, accountability failures of state structures and institutions are ignored.

In summary, guidance on the formation and implementation of SBMCs remains somewhat unclear and open to interpretation. A lack of clarity exists about the exact purpose of SBMCs and rationale for their introduction: difference strands of policy seem to view SBMCs as a way to ease the financial burden of government, a way to promote community ownership, or a way to inform or 'sensitise' communities.

SBMC implementation – government and NGO initiatives

⁷ <http://yourbudgit.com/>

This section outlines key projects and initiatives that have included a focus on SBMCs or their precursors including Self Help, Capacity for Universal Basic Education (CUBE) initiatives, Girls' Education Project (GEP) and FME training. As well as looking at what results, it seeks to identify what some of the key ideas underpinning SBMC implementation are so far.

From early 2003, a number of World Bank and DFID funded projects have been operating in various states in Nigeria, including the Universal Basic Education Project (UBEP), Capacity for Universal Basic Education (CUBE) and Community Participation for Action in the Social Sector (COMPASS). CUBE provided technical assistance to the Federal Government of Nigeria and State governments in three states to support the implementation of the Universal Basic Education Project (UBEP). The first phase of CUBE (2003-2005) included Community-Based Research and the development of Community Level Education Development Planning (CLEDEP). This planning process was linked to World Bank funded 'Self Help', which provided grants to schools and communities to assist in renovating and improving primary schools, managed by a community committee (World Bank, 2002). CUBE Phase 2 (2006-2008) concentrated efforts on 3 states only: Kano, Kaduna and Kwara. A process of Whole School Development Planning (WSDP) which drew on CLEDEP was developed which subsequently fed into CUBE support for the development of manuals for State Education Sector Project (SESP) School Development scheme (SDS).

The USAID-funded programme COMPASS was launched in 2004 with the objective of expanded participation, ownership and use of healthcare and education sector services to the community level in four states (Bauchi, Lagos, Kano and Nasarawa) and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) of Nigeria over a period of five years (Pathfinder International, 2009). COMPASS includes a 'community mobilisation' component aims for all Nigerians to be 'involved in learning, planning, and taking action to improve health and education in their communities. The strategy's main goal was to promote a sense of ownership whereby community members take responsibility for their own community's development' (COMPASS, 2007). COMPASS used a participatory process called the Community Action Cycle to facilitate the establishment of 'quality improvement teams' and 'community coalitions' which will work together to improve health and education provision.

The Girls' Education Project (GEP) was launched in December 2004, a partnership between UNICEF, DFID and FME. In its first phase (2004-2007) it worked in 720 schools in 6 states of northern Nigeria: Jigawa, Sokoto, Borno, Katsina, Niger and Bauchi. The focus of the project was on improving "access, retention and learning outcomes" for girls in the project states (UNICEF Nigeria, 2007, 9). Project activities included a strong focus on SBMCs, through providing grants directly to schools to be managed by SBMCs, and dependent on female representation on SBMCs and approved gender-sensitive School Development Plans (UNICEF Nigeria, 2007). The second phase of GEP (2008-2012) worked in four states only, Jigawa, Katsina, Niger and Bauchi and had an increased focus on building structures and systems at state level. SBMCs were seen as a key 'vehicle' for this work in that it involved 'training SBMCs to develop school improvement plans and work with parents to ensure girls are enrolled and attend school', and that the majority of funding will be used 'to help States develop and implement systems for

SBMCs to control budgets to improve the quality of learning in their schools' (DFID Nigeria, 2008, 1). No evaluation document or project completion report for GEP 2 was available at the time of writing, however the 2012 ICAI report on DFID funding of education programmes in Nigeria is critical of GEP, particularly in terms of its failure to focus on improving learning outcomes, although it explains that project records were lost in the bombing of the UN HQ in Abuja in 2011 (Independent Commission for Aid Effectiveness (ICAI), 2012, 5). A third phase of GEP (2013-2020) has recently started implementation, but the ICAI report states that recent performance does not justify the reappointment of UNICEF without competition to implement phase 3 of the programme (Independent Commission for Aid Effectiveness (ICAI), 2012, 10).

The State Education Sector Project (SESP) was a World Bank funded project working in 3 states, Kano, Kaduna and Kwara from 2007-2011. The aims of the project were to improve education inputs and learning environment with a particular focus on girls' participation; and to 'strengthen the capacity of school committees, LGEAs and States to plan and monitor the performance of schools' (World Bank, 2007, 3). A key feature was that SBMCs develop a school development plan and the project made direct grants to SBMCs. SESP developed manuals – one at state level, one at school level, for the school development process, on which the grant money depended. This process drew on the GEP approach with some differences. A new programme, the State Education Program Investment Project, is currently under development by the World Bank (World Bank, 2011). The proposed programme objective is 'to improve educational management and governance in selected States in order to enhance equitable access and quality, in the education sector', with school-based management as a key component, including a facility for states to make direct grants to schools managed by SBMCs.

In 2008 the federal government agreed to fund training of SBMCs using the MDG debt relief money (Akinsolu and Onibon, 2009). The Civil Society Action Coalition on Education for All (CSACEFA) led the process, working with FME. National Institute for Educational Planning and Administration (NIEPA) and CSACEFA training manuals on SBMC roles and responsibilities were adapted and used. The training was designed as a 'step down' process: State, LGEA and CSO members would be trained, and they would train at the local level. However, as at October 2008 there was no funding for the 'step-down'. Training at state level commenced in 20 states 'with high gender disparities' in November 2008 and was completed in April 2009 (Akinsolu and Onibon, 2009). In total, 275 trainers were trained at zonal level (Akinsolu and Onibon, 2009, 12) but it is not clear how many training sessions, and of whom, were conducted as a next step.

In addition, a number of NGO initiatives working with SBMCs or similar have been introduced. The Civil Society Action Coalition for Education for All (CSACEFA) ran a project entitled 'Enhancing Effective Women Participation in SBMCs at community level' funded by the Open Society Initiative of West Africa (OSIWA) during 2007. This project worked in a total of 70 communities in Ekiti, Edo, Imo, Nasarawa, Kebbi, Adamawa and FCT states (personal communication with CSACEFA, 2008). Project activities included the development of a training manual for facilitators and members of SBMCs at community level, training of 14 community facilitators, 'advocacy visits' and the production of Information,

Education and Communication (IEC) materials and jingles (Civil Society Action Coalition on Education For All, 2007).

An Oxfam/ActionAid project (Enhancing Girls' Basic Education in Northern Nigeria - EGBENN) was working in Kebbe, Sokoto and Zamfara states in northern Nigeria to improve girls' education from 2005-2010. Project activities included working with SBMCs and PTAs using methodology influenced by REFLECT⁸, in which SBMCs act as sub-committees of a larger community REFLECT circle (Menkiti, n.d.). Phase 1 of the project ran from 2005-2007 in 28 project communities. Phase 2 (2007-2010) was implemented in a total of 36 communities. In addition, Transforming Education for Girls in Nigeria and Tanzania (TEGINT) was an ActionAid project funded by Comic Relief, working in Nigeria and Tanzania from 2007-2012. In Nigeria the project worked in TEGINT in Nigeria worked in 72 schools in eight states, the Federal Capital Territory (Abuja), Niger, Plateau, Nasarawa, Bauchi, Gombe, Katsina and Kaduna states, in partnership with the NGO Community Action for Popular Participation (CAPP) (Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011). The overall goal of the project was to achieve a transformation in the education of girls, enabling them to enrol and succeed in school by addressing key challenges and obstacles that hinder their participation in education and increase their vulnerability to HIV/AIDS. In particular, one of the project objectives focused on building the capacity of school management committees and the wider community in addressing HIV and AIDS and girls' rights in education and HIV/AIDS (TEGINT, 2011). As part of the baseline research, a gender management profile for each school was developed, which assessed SBMC activities in support of girls' education (Unterhalter and Heslop, 2011). In practice, the project trained SBMC members' education rights, gender equality and HIV/AIDS, and school management (ActionAid and Institute of Education, 2013, 19). The results from the endline study showed that gender management profiles (a composite measure of actions in support of girls' education) increased overall. One interesting finding was that SBMC management capacity and teacher training interventions showed the strongest relationship with actions in favour of girls' education (ActionAid and Institute of Education, 2013, 19). In addition,

The relationship between girls citing more solutions to overcome their obstacles to education and increases in the gender management profile of the school is very nearly statistically significant. This indicates that improvements to schools' ability to take action on girls' education may affect girls' capacity to find solutions to help them continue their schooling (ActionAid and Institute of Education, 2013, 21).

Though this finding requires further investigation, this research is ground-breaking in terms of trying to establish a relationship between school management practices and girls' education.

A wide range of innovative approaches to community participation and education, including SBMCs, has been implemented in Nigeria in recent years. However, there is limited research or other information available on the impact of those initiatives, and what there is tends to be somewhat uncritical. The FME training evaluation looked at participants' satisfaction with the training, as well as the extent to which they felt they had gained knowledge around the key areas of 'school effectiveness', 'interaction

⁸ REFLECT is an approach to social change drawing on Freirian literacy and participatory methodologies, developed by the NGO ActionAid (www.reflect-action.org).

strategies' and 'participatory methods' (Akinsolu and Onibon, 2009, 16). An evaluation of Oxfam Novib's strategy in Nigeria concludes that 'there is evidence to show that the EGBENN project is going to empower poor communities to begin to make more demands' (Moussa, Iyayi and Onibon, 2007), however there is no detail on whether and how this was done by the project or how the evaluators reached this conclusion. ActionAid Nigeria representatives claimed in 2009 that the project had led to an increase in girls' enrolment although robust data are not available to back up this claim. The methodology by which this evaluation was conducted was not available in the synthesis report however.

Perhaps the best documented initiative is the Girls Education Project (GEP). According to the GEP Phase 1 evaluation:

Functional SBMCs characterised the GEP schools, which have responded positively to the requirement on engaging a minimum of three women. Occasionally, some of the SBMCs had a female membership of nearly 50% as observed in some of the LGAs in Niger and Bauchi. Of the 12,409 members in the 720 GEP focus schools, 2,978 are women, representing 21% (Chege et al., 2008: 4).

However, there is no particular definition or indicator described for SBMC functionality. The report states however that SBMCs in all the GEP states had adopted flexible approaches to increasing school participation rates for boys and girls through various strategies that include, household mapping to identify families with children of school going age and persuade them to enrol them in school (Chege et al., 2008: 4). While, as outlined above, women make up 21% of SBMC members in GEP schools, the main focus of the evaluation is on increasing girls' enrolment, rather than on the development of a functional committee. While gross enrolment was noted as having increased in GEP schools by 82%, this cannot be causally linked to SBMC activities. Although as mentioned earlier, no final evaluation of GEP2 was available at the time of writing, a paper presented by UNICEF and DFID at the E4GE conference suggests that 'the introduction of decentralised finance to schools (grants) through school community committees (SBMC) are a useful modality for raising quality in schools and promoting female inclusion,' (Akunga and Attfield, 2010, 6) although the paper says that there was no hard evidence for this. Interestingly, the ICAI report suggests that school grants should be 'reconsidered' (Independent Commission for Aid Effectiveness (ICAI), 2012, 25) as they are not sustainable without State government support.

Under the auspices of SESP three studies of SBMCs in Kwara, Kaduna and Kano were conducted in 2008 (Aboki, 2008; Oladimeji, Oyawoye and Mohammed, 2008; State Education Sector Project/CUBE, 2008). In each state, the study was conducted in a total of nine schools in three LGAs. The study focused on five areas: the formation and composition of SBMCs, roles and responsibilities, relationships with other groups, monitoring and evaluation, and the impact SBMCs to date on schools. The study methodology hinged on focus group discussions with groups of stakeholders, including SBMC chair, head teachers, community leaders, education secretaries, children, PTA and SBMC members. The SESP SBMC studies explored perceptions of interviewees of what difference the SBMC had made to the school. This was interpreted in quite an open way, so that for example in the case of Kaduna, the focus was largely on increased enrolment and teacher attendance. In general, although the reports are largely descriptive

and with limited analysis, they provide anecdotal evidence of the fact that early implementation of SBMCs was variable. It is not clear how these studies of SBMCs informed SESP activities. The World Bank's own project completion report rated the project as 'moderately satisfactory' (World Bank, 2012a, 12). The main indicator for community participation is 'Target schools (1523) implement approved School Development Plans based on agreed criteria by start of mid 2010, with improved community participation' (World Bank, 2012a, v). There is no indication from the project documents of how improved community participation was judged. Nevertheless, the report singles out community participation as a 'notable result', in particular 'increased school autonomy and accountability through direct funding based on approved School Development Plans, coupled with renewed community participation' (World Bank, 2012a, 12). These conclusions are based on an assessment of school development in the programme which is not publicly available (Omoluabi, Balarabe, Zakariya, Garba (2011) cited in World Bank, 2012a)

In summary, despite the increasingly wide range of projects and programmes working with SBMCs, there is no clear picture emerging of whether, how, and in what circumstances SBMC policy has been successful in meeting its objectives as defined in the Guidance Notes. The large, donor-funded, state-partnered initiatives (CUBE, SESP and ESSPIN) have judged community participation to have increased, and therefore consider SBMCs to have been successful, without really examining in depth the quality of that participation or forms of action. SESP, for example, as far as can be ascertained, has made its judgement on improved community participation on the basis of criteria that are not made explicit. GEP research and evaluation suggests positive impact in terms of women's participation on SBMCs, and girls' enrolment. There is little evidence, or focus, either on broader issues such as quality of participation or learning achievement; neither is there any attempt to explain how and why women's participation and girls' enrolment may be linked. TEGINT is the first project to seek to explore what aspects of school based management make a difference to key girls' empowerment aims and why, but as the final evaluation suggests, there is much work to be done in terms of investigating and establishing causal linkages (ActionAid and Institute of Education, 2013).

Conclusion

This chapter highlights the importance of understanding particular configurations of the state in Nigeria and its history. For example, ideas and practices around democracy and participation are relatively new and it cannot therefore be taken for granted that they will be viewed as expected. Ideas about participation became more prominent in Nigerian policy documents at a time of severe economic and political crisis during the 1980s and 1990s. The ways in which people understand and enact their relationship with the state as it has changed, and continues to change, represents an interesting route for further exploration. Evidence from projects and initiatives focusing on increasing community participation so far is very scanty, but a preliminary impression is that there is very little evidence so far of community participation driven by people's demands; rather, policies focused on participation have been introduced in a top down fashion, driven by the concerns of government, NGOs or donors.

The introduction of SBMC policy, infused with the language of participatory development which is overwhelmingly positive and reassuring in many contexts, has to be viewed from the perspective of individuals, communities and societies in Nigeria who have experienced the negative side of community, whether through communal violence, or the manipulation of participatory and consultative practices by cynical state and party systems. In addition, the political economy of the 'petro-state' and the negotiation of social relations characterised by patron-client bonds and corruption are a daily reality for most Nigerians. The introduction of SBMCs as a way to promote community participation is viewed by donors and sections of government and civil society as a positive, and even logical step but we have seen that since the introduction of the policy in 2008 evidence of impact for this initiative is relatively thin and tends to gloss over the actual dynamics of community participation in education in Nigeria, with a few exceptions.

The examination in this chapter of the 'tracks and traces' of ideas about community participation in Nigeria, the ways in which ideas about community appear in particular social, political and economic systems and the kind of community they create, requires a review of the ways in which community has been theorised and conceptualised across different disciplines. The next chapter will therefore examine the literature on community, participation, and community participation in education, in order to establish an analytical framework for examining SBMC policy and its enactment in this very complex social setting.

Chapter 3: The ambivalent nature of community participation in education

... it looks as if we will never stop dreaming of a community, but neither will we ever find in any self-proclaimed community the pleasures we savoured in our dreams (Bauman, 2001, 4)

Introduction

An examination of the idea of community is central to this thesis. In the previous chapter, I outlined the limited implementation of EFA, and the use by politicians of public consultation and bounded forms of participation as a means of gaining support. In this chapter, I will review the literature on community and participation, in order to elucidate important issues underpinning them. As well as theoretical approaches to community, I will examine practices of community participation in education. Recent years have seen an increased focus on community participation in education in international development policy and practice (Bray, 2000; Burde, 2004; Rose, 2003a). A clear dynamic has emerged around school management, evinced through the establishment of organisations called, for example, school committees, school management committees, village education committees or school based management committees, which implies that it is participatory and community-based. The notion of community that underpins it is diverse, rarely articulated and rarely questioned.

I started this thesis with the moment in Yala, when members of the Nigerian federal and state governments, UNICEF experts, academics and education officials approved a new policy on community participation in education. Given the centrality of the concept of community to the policy, the event raises a number of questions, all of which relate to the broader question of how global development discourses interact with local political realities, where the idea of community participation in education comes from, and what concepts underpin it. In Yala, for example, did participants discuss and define a shared concept of community? Were they thinking of the community in spatial terms, as a group of people living in close proximity? Or were they thinking of community in a more abstract sense, as a group with shared ethnicity, language, interests or values, possibly in opposition to other communities? Were they approaching community from the perspective of a technocrat, as a vehicle for achieving development outcomes? Or were they thinking of the community in normative terms, as an institution that is natural and fundamental to the ordering of human lives? Did they consider community as solid and immutable, or as something fluid, flexible, subject to development and change? For the participants, was the idea of community fundamentally good, positive and equally supportive of all its members' needs and interests; or as something darker, a site where some individuals wield power to oppress or exclude others? While we do not know the answers to these questions, they illustrate questions that need to be asked of the literature and research data in this study.

The purpose of this chapter is to review critically the literature on the meanings of community, both in itself and in relation to policy, state and participatory institutions. First, I will outline the situation of community participation in education in theory and practice. I will demonstrate that while ideas about community underpin approaches to community participation in education, they are rarely unpacked or

made explicit. I will then move on to examine the ways in which the concept of community has been theorised, and to distinguish between a number of key approaches. This will provide an analytical framework for examining approaches to participatory development in general, and community participation in education particular.

Community participation in education is strongly linked to two strands of development policy and theory. The first is participatory development, and the second is decentralisation. I will therefore explore the literature on participatory development, and its critics. I will examine how community appears and is conceptualised in this literature. I will also examine the literature on decentralisation, how community participation is rationalised, and again, consider how community is conceptualised in this literature. This analysis will identify gaps in the literature and therefore key questions for the study data.

Bauman's words at the start of this chapter suggest that the idea of community is an unattainable dream. As we range over the disputed theoretical territory of community participation in education, I will show how the idea of community is created, sustained and used in development policy and practice, with very real effects for women and men who experience its effects on the ground.

Community participation in education in practice

This section will look specifically at the form that community participation has taken in the field of education and development, and the way in which community is understood and conceptualised in the literature. The introduction of policies that expand parental choice in education and that increase parental voice in school management (so-called 'voice and choice') has accelerated in Western countries since the 1980s (Bray, 2000; Forsey, Davies and Walford, 2008). In addition, such policies have increasingly become an integral part of donor-funded education reform projects in developing countries since the early 1990s (Bruns, Filmer and Patrinos, 2011).

A number of explanations or rationales for the growth in popularity of community participation in education have been posited. These fall generally into three categories: the quality argument, the efficiency argument and the democracy argument. The quality argument is focused on the proposition that community participation in education will improve the quality of education (Uemura, 1999), although quality is frequently undefined. Different reasons are given for the linkage between community participation and improved quality: firstly, that community participation will lead to more and better resources at school level. Secondly, that community members will hold school officials and local government to account, thereby ensuring better support and services for the school. Thirdly, that community participation will improve the home environment and motivate parents to send their children to school and support them in their learning. Bray (2000) gives *Educacion con Participacion de la Comunidad*⁹ (EDUCO) in El Salvador as an example of the deployment of the quality argument, in which school management committees positively influence learning outcomes, through increased

⁹ 'Education with Community Participation' in Spanish

teacher effort, due to parental and community monitoring. However, the actual dynamics by which community participation will improve quality are unclear. In a review of three programmes promoting community participation in education in India, Banerjee et. al. (2008) note that there was no impact on learning outcomes, although one intervention had a large impact on reading outside schools. No convincing link between community participation and improved learning outcomes is available, however, and community remains poorly defined.

The efficiency argument for community participation in education is associated with the worldwide shift since the 1980s towards privatisation and questioning state monopoly in the private and social sector, including education. 'Government operations, it was thought, tended to be inefficient and unresponsive to changing circumstances, and private enterprises were said to be more client-centred' (Bray, 2000, 8). In the UK education sector, parents have become increasingly involved in school management since the 1960s when LEAs started to appoint parent governors to schools; the 1980 Education Act required schools throughout the country to have governing bodies that included parents. The efficiency argument logically requires parents, communities and civil society taking some of the burden – financial and otherwise – of education away from the state (Bray, 2000, 9).

The democracy argument is focused on the higher level goals of transparency, accountability and the role of school management in promoting fairer and more democratic societies. For example in a review of the literature on decentralization focusing mainly on Bangladesh, India, Ghana and South Africa, Dunne et al. (2007), note the assumption that community oversight of school budgets will reduce corruption and ensure that funds reach school level. Their review focuses largely on the characteristics of communities – with the important conclusion that there are great differences within and between communities – rather than on how communities have been able to engage with education systems, and with what results. This is linked to critical views of community participation in education, which suggest that ultimately, rather than seeking to move the balance of power in school management towards parents and community members, that in fact community participation is concerned with increasing state control over parents and community members.

Surprisingly, until recently there were limited reviews of community participation in education, which sought to establish whether or not community participation is successful in terms of meeting key objectives; those that did exist were narrow in focus. For example, Bray reviews 'community partnerships' in education in the ten years since the Dakar declaration on Education for All, drawing on case studies from Papua New Guinea, Kenya, Malawi, Mexico, Thailand and Myanmar. This encompasses a number of ways in which communities and states work in partnership including non-formal or community schools, school committees, PTAs and different financing structures. Rose (2003a) reviews the extent to which community participation has contributed to improving gender equity in educational outcomes in sub-Saharan Africa, based on a combination of her own research, and a number of papers focusing in particular on Save the Children's work with community schools, as well as literature review, a DfID evaluation and a USAID lessons learned paper.

Both Bray and Rose reviews are not systematic, in that the criteria for selection of case studies used to illustrate key points are not laid out. Different types of community participation are conflated. Bray's conclusions for example are drawn mainly from cases of non formal or community-run schools, rather than the special circumstances of community-based participation in school management. Rose's conclusions on the impact of community initiatives focus mainly on community schools, with the exception of the Malawi Primary Schools Project. This reflects a tendency to define community participation in opposition to state provision of education.

The way in which community is conceptualised is uneven. Bray's review focuses on community *partnerships*, not community participation, defining partnership as a state of sharing in an activity. He notes that in some cases, 'communities are the dominant partners', while in others they are subordinate (Bray, 2000, 5). Bray works with a loose definition of community, pointing out that a community has at least one of the following features:

- *a network of shared interests and concerns;*
- *a symbolic or physical base;*
- *extension beyond the narrowly-defined household; and*
- *something that distinguishes it from other similar groups (Bray, 2000, 5).*

In addition, Bray points out that the voices of stakeholders may not all be heard equally (Bray, 2000, 5). Nevertheless, the inference that there are power differences within and between communities is not addressed in the paper, so that the term community is used as if it is an unproblematised entity throughout the paper. For example, in describing an education reform initiative in Papua New Guinea, Bray says that 'communities could recruit teachers, subject to higher-level approval, and that government financing for salaries and supplies was matched by community' (Bray, 2000, 13), which gives the impression that the community is unitary.

Rose does not discuss the conceptualisation of community. She does note, however, that

...[m]any studies analyse the 'community' as if it were a homogenous group of people, devoid of power relations within it, implying a vision of 'community' as a network of shared interests and concerns. In reality, however, a community is unlikely to be a homogenous group with a common voice and shared set of views. By emphasising common knowledge, the promotion of community participation can fail to acknowledge the ways in which local power is reinforced (Rose, 2003a, 12)

Rose's gender analysis allows her to highlight how within communities in Malawi, the bulk of work of community participation then falls to women, while community participation models also tend to expect more from poorer communities.

Both reviews are somewhat ambivalent about their conclusions. Rose states that there is a distinct lack of evidence in relation to community-based committees, and that it is impossible to say whether observed improvements in girls' enrolment can be attributed to community participation, or to other factors (Rose, 2003a, 15), this statement is qualified in that the reasons for increased enrolment require further investigation and '[i]t is usually not apparent ... whether the improved chances of girls'

enrolment derive specifically from community participation, or would also occur if a state school were provided in a similar location' (Rose, 2003a, 6).

Community building and cohesion can also be an explicit reason for promoting community participation in education. Burde (2004), whose paper focuses on post-war Bosnia, does not define community, but touches on the fact that communities can be based on a shared set of values or goal, and that the community that she looked at was ethnically homogenous. She does not consider other factors, such as gender or economic status, that could affect power relations within the community. The focus is on a secondary goal of community participation: '[i]n promoting education for social reconstruction, community participation in school governance offers both the promise of citizens generating responses to their interests, and the possibilities of mending social networks' (Burde, 2004, 3). The possibility that community participation in education offers of rebuilding communities is aligned with a communitarian analysis. Burde's in-depth description of an example of community participation quickly moves from talking of the community as a whole, to talking of key interest groups, parents and teachers, and the notion of the homogenous community breaks down. At the same time, a notion of community in opposition to the state persists: 'When a fledgling state does re-emerge after a conflict, the responsibility for delivering social services such as education may remain with under-resourced communities' (Burde, 2004, 6).

In the literature, communities are often portrayed as unitary and homogenous. For example, Kendall (2007) reviews the role of parental and community participation in improving educational quality in Africa. Kendall does not define community; the community is rather viewed in a unitary fashion. She discusses 'school-community interactions' (Kendall, 2007, 703), which implies that the community speaks with one voice. This means that there is no consideration, in the interaction and actions that she analyses, of who within the community is heard, and who does the work. Communities should be facilitated to set the agenda on education, which might result in 'models of education and educational quality that, at least in part, do not look the way those in power expect or want' (Kendall, 2007, 706). So while she considers inequalities in interactions at state level between recipient and donor government, there is no consideration of inequalities within and between communities.

The concept of community provides an attractive and useful shorthand, that I myself find useful. For example in a report on Community Level Education Development Planning in Nigeria I wrote '[t]he plans would then be fed back to the community and implemented and monitored as appropriate' (Poulsen, 2005, 9). I try to get around my discomfort with the term 'community' by writing about 'community members' – to emphasise that communities are made up of people with different ideas, interests and priorities; or 'community-level', to differentiate from local government or national level institutions. Partly, this usage of community stems from the need for a shorthand that applies to a group of people who have, at various other stages, been called 'beneficiaries', villagers, 'the poor'. It is important to note that these terms position people in different ways – as recipients of aid, as peasants, as marginalised economic actors. These terms also reflect the binary and oppositional thinking behind participatory approaches that contrasts local with global, powerful with powerless.

Although Bray notes some positive results of community participation, these are largely based on NGO-initiated community schools, rather than community participation in state school system, as is the case with SBMCs in Nigeria. Nevertheless, he notes positive results in terms of recruitment, retention and attendance of pupils and improved learning outcomes (Bray, 2000), particularly in relation to non-formal school programmes (e.g. Shiksha Karmi in India and BRAC in Bangladesh). It is not clear how these particular examples were chosen. Among examples that are similar to the Nigerian SBMC model, Bray's conclusion is based on a case study from Fiji where 'Some school committees are very active not only in recruiting pupils but also in ensuring attendance' (Bray, 2000, 25).

Critiques of the assumption that there is a link between community participation and educational quality are based either on the view that community participation has mainly an economic rationale, or Kendall's 'analysis of community participation as a 'source of comfort', to which governments turn when the expansion of primary education has not led to the expected results. Kendall (2007) notes that the question of whether community participation improves educational quality is a difficult one to answer. She suggests that the function of community participation initiatives may in fact be as a 'source of comfort' (Kendall, 2007, 703) in contexts where the expansion of primary schooling has not led to the expected results. She notes that 'much of the work currently done to improve educational quality is only shallowly intersecting with communities', parents', children's, and teachers' daily educational experiences and desires' (Kendall, 2007, 705). She poses the question of what, precisely, community participation is supposed to improve – and debates about different definitions of quality. There is a tension inherent in participatory approaches in that, for example, parents' definitions of quality may differ from state definitions of quality, and therefore approaches that enable parental participation could, in theory, lead to education that does not fit with state definitions.

Rose questions whether community participation models are necessarily positive for girls '[a]s an end in itself, community participation in schooling appears to have resulted in an entrenchment and reinforcement of gender relations, rather than empowering those traditionally excluded from more genuine aspects of participation' (Rose, 2003a, 15). This is based on two studies, a project in Malawi including author observations, and Malawian government poverty analysis. Both studies conclude that women contribute the majority of labour to community schools and that there is a gender division of labour in the work around community schools which reflects gender roles in wider society, so that women for example haul sand and water while men do construction and take on leadership roles. Whether this phenomenon is apparent elsewhere is an important question for further research.

There is some evidence to suggest that there can also be negative impacts of community participation. Bray's findings indicate that there are some aspects of school effectiveness where community impact is limited, for example in supply and training of teachers. He further notes that community participation can increase geographical and social disparities between communities: 'because the groups that are already advantaged are in a better position to help themselves than the disadvantaged groups' (Bray, 2000, 30). This may be an example of an initiative where 'spaces of reform may themselves become

sites of exclusion, where gendered hierarchies exercise power that subordinates women and girls and reinforces inequalities' (Unterhalter, 2010, 7).

While Rose and Bray seem to suggest that community participation in education is inherently problematic, another explanation posited for the limited evidence of positive impact is that such approaches are not well implemented. Burde (2004), for example, notes that approaches to community participation in education are often not well implemented and have unrealistic aims and objectives. It is, she says

...a complex tool that can be manipulated in multiple ways to varying effect... To the extent that it works to increase the efficiency and quality of social services, participation may provide a patchwork solution to systemic problems, veiling more profound and contentious issues of structural change and political representation' (Burde, 2004, 1).

Community participation should complement and check the state, not replace it (Burde, 2004, 4).

Turning to specific examples of community participation in education, we can see how in some cases, the community is viewed as a monolithic entity. For example a 1998 account of Schooling Improvement Fund (SIF) project in Ghana, based on a DFID review of lessons learned, the school committee is described as 'the community' as if the committee is a proxy for the community, actions of the school committee are ascribed to the community as if it is a monolithic body with agency, for example

Communities also participated through making visits to schools to check whether new equipment and other items had arrived, but it was not clear whether they were making more regular visits to the schools since the SIF (Condy, 1998, 12).

It is not whole communities that are visiting schools, but rather selected individuals. Similarly, a World Learning (Coppola, Luczak and Stephenson, 2003) review of community participation in education projects in Guatemala and Benin falls back on a monolithic view of community, despite establishing a conceptual approach that recognises the diversity and complexity of communities:

Some of the communities are designating after-school locations in which girls can do homework, with assistance from a tutor; all of the communities are discussing how parents can support their daughters' scholastic endeavors, by trying not to overburden them at home (Coppola, Luczak and Stephenson, 2003, 29).

This narrative of community as monolithic has the effect of brushing over any internal differences and ignoring the processes by which certain individuals are selected to represent the community.

In contrast, other commentators emphasise the fact that lower status community members, including parents, the poor and women tend to be excluded from decision-making processes within school committees, as in the following example from Malawi:

Within communities, while a few members play a role in decision-making through their membership on the school committee, the division of responsibilities between those involved in decision-making and those providing labour is also likely to reflect inequalities that exist within the society (Rose, 2003b, 60).

According to this analysis, decision-making is dominated by a few, while the majority of community members are excluded. Similarly, a study of 88 schools in Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh in India

concludes that the active participation in School Management Committees of parents and community members from disadvantaged groups needs to be encouraged, thus suggesting it was not taking place (Bandyopadhyay and Dey, 2011).

Limited participation of poor and marginalised people is also emphasised in Onitsu's (2009) study of six schools in Zambia. This study included observation of PTA and school Committee meetings as well as interviews with key stakeholders and is therefore able to build up a detailed picture of the micro-politics of these institutions, and in particular the multiple ways in which parents' voices are ignored by teachers in decision-making processes. Parents feel unable to question teachers because they feel they lack knowledge, expertise, education; they feel socially inferior, and they fear of revenge by teachers. In addition meetings are carefully controlled and start with long speeches by officials, so that parents may have to leave to attend to work or to eat before the question and answer sessions where they have the opportunity to speak. Those who did speak tended to be better educated, higher social status, men, non-Lamba¹⁰ members. Interestingly however Onitsu suggests that to focus primarily on the ways in which 'ordinary' members are excluded risks missing two key elements of the picture: firstly that teachers themselves feel that parents do not listen to them, and secondly the strategies that teachers claimed that parents use to influence the teachers, including witchcraft and violence. In conclusion 'micro-power relations, social norms and taboos influence the way different actors deliberate and negotiate in such participatory spaces' (Onitsu, 2009, 30) reflects the value of not seeing relations around school committees in binary terms, with two camps, the powerful and the powerless, in opposition to each other.

Finally, a number of studies (Onitsu, 2009; Rose, 2003b; Taylor, 2010) note that the scope of SMCs is ultimately limited and that the real power and resources remain with local or central government. For example Taylor's (2010) study of school committees in Tanzania examines processes by which school committees develop plans, which are then passed 'up' to village committees, and on to the District Education Officer, but shows that they ultimately have little influence on decisions on resource allocation (Taylor, 2010, 86).

In summary, a number of rationales for community participation in education can be discerned from the literature. One narrative is that community participation supports better quality education outcomes, however the evidence on this is ambivalent. While there is evidence that in some cases, community participation can support increased enrolment, this seems to be dependent on the interaction of a range of contextual factors, rather than because of a community participation intervention per se. Another rationale is a financial one, in that community participation is a way of reducing the burden of education expenditure. But this can result in a shifting of expenditure to poor communities, which risks increasing inequities, in that poorer communities have fewer resources with which to support schools. Finally, the democracy rationale sees community participation as part of a broader process of democratisation.

¹⁰ The Lamba people are a historically marginalised ethnic group in the Copperbelt province of Zambia

A review of the literature on community participation in education reveals that firstly the concept of community is often vaguely, if at all defined, with a common assumption that the community is and unitary, and delinked or opposed to state institutions. Secondly, community participation in education is under-researched and limited in terms of the results that are expected of it. Case studies of specific interventions suggest that committee members (often poor, unschooled, rural people) are under-supported and under-resourced; and not incentivised to take on the complex work of school management. In addition the politics of school committees have been insufficiently understood. For example, vested interests within communities and local government have made it difficult for school committees to be representative or actually participatory; rather, they tend to be controlled by the same elites who have always dominated decision-making. Participation in, and management of the school can represent opportunities to wield significant power at the local level. In addition, there is a lack of attention to the dynamics of community participation at local level, the agency of individual actors in policy enactment, and inadequate contextualisation of community participation interventions.

Community: concept and critique

‘Community’ is a foundational concept in politics, sociology and development, however there is little agreement on its definition and it encompasses therefore a broad range of assumptions and values that are often hidden. In particular, it carries with it normative positive associations for some, while carrying with it negative associations of repression and oppression for others. Despite this, there is a tendency to use the idea of ‘community’ uncritically in development discourse. This is particularly problematic in relation to ideas about diversity and difference and strategies for participation.

Theoretical approaches to community can be divided into three broad groups: the normative view, the critical view or the constructivist view. A normative approach to community is based on the idea that the community is something that is fundamental to human society, that is naturalised and inherently positive. In this approach, community is idealised and often associated with positive values and a mythical past. I want to distinguish between two linked traditions of the normative community: the classical anthropological and sociological tradition, and the communitarian tradition. Turning first to classical sociology, in his influential work *Community and Association*, Tönnies (1955) set up an opposition between community as traditional cultural values (*Gemeinschaft*) and modern society (*Gesellschaft*). By extension, community is living, local and natural; society is mechanical, rational, mental and exchange-based. Tönnies took an evolutionary view, theorising that modern society would gradually displace traditional community. His analysis was based on observations and comparisons between German urban and rural society in the late 19th century.

Classical anthropological approaches to community (for example Evans Pritchard’s *The Nuer* (Evans-Pritchard, 1940)) tended to see communities as all-encompassing, with no sense of wider society, as well as discrete and unchanging. The idea of tradition was rarely questioned because communities were believed to be unchanging, whereas in fact many traditions are the products of modernisation (Hobsbawm, 1983). While it is clear from today’s perspective that an evolutionary view of society is

outdated, and that many different types of social organisation co-exist, it is also likely that the practice of referring to rural people in developing countries as 'communities' has its roots in assumptions that they are traditional and unchanging.

A second key idea is that community is a distinct sphere, separate from that of the market and politics; and related to this, that it is a symbolic construct. Weber (1947) for example contrasts 'communal' and associative relationships. Communal relationships are 'affective' or traditional, whereas 'associative' relationships are rational and market-based. However Weber recognised that 'communal' relationships are not necessarily free of conflict: 'coercion of all sorts is a very common thing in even the most intimate of communal relationships if one party is weaker in character than the other' (Weber, 1947, 137) .

Anthropological approaches to community were revolutionised by Victor Turner's work on symbolic boundaries. Turner (1969) focused on how community is experienced by the individual, and in particular the concept of 'liminality', which refers to 'between' moments where normality is suspended, such as rituals. Rituals involve some change to participants. The change is accomplished by separating them from the social group, followed by a period of liminality, and then a period when individuals are reintegrated into the group. The liminal state is characterised by ambiguity and openness, dissolution of one's sense of identity, disorientation and transition. It opens the way to change. During the liminal stage, Turner proposed that 'communitas' comes to the fore – a feeling and spirit of common humanity and equality in which differences between individuals are dissolved. Communitas is opposed to the structure, the expression of social nature rather than the formal, institutionalised social structures and is associated with the sacred rather than the secular.

Turner's work has been critiqued for being idealised; it does not consider that communitas can take real and violent forms and the ways in which power and resources are distributed within communities (Delanty, 2003; Eade and Sallnow, 1991). Furthermore his theories tend to be focused on the individual, and neglect the influence of broader social, cultural and economic contexts. Nevertheless the influence of Turner's work has been enduring, and applied more recently to aspects of modern culture including sport, games, drama, media, 'raves' and other dance events, marginal cultural movements and 'modern tribes' (St. John, 2008).

Communitarianism is the philosophy which focuses on community and society rather than the individual and is concerned with building 'civil society'. This has become extremely influential in US and UK policy. Robert Putnam in 'Bowling Alone: The collapse and revival of American community' (Putnam, 2001) describes the decline in community values in American society, as measured by 'social capital'. The concept of 'community' is understood as the creation and mobilisation of social capital. Social capital refers to 'connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them' (Putnam, 2001, 19). Community and by implication social capital promotes values of trust, commitment and solidarity and is a building block of democracy, public institutions and the state. The reasons for declining social capital, Putnam argues, are apathy, self-

interest and disengagement from public life as key causes – fed by increasing culture of individualism, mass media, television and modern work patterns. Putnam's is essentially a conservative view. He mourns the loss of community and emphasises the importance of rebuilding it. He assumes also that strong community will lead to a stronger state; and that democracy will flourish. His position has been criticised in that it ignores conflict and difference (Foley and Edwards, 1996). Underpinning his approach lies the view that democracy is based on culturally homogeneous communities, which suggests by extension that multicultural society cannot sustain democratic citizenship (Delanty, 2003).

A similarly conservative view is that of Etzioni (1995), according to whom community is the moral foundation and expression of a citizenship of responsibility and of participation, not rights. Responsibility is central to his view of community. Etzioni's position has been criticised because it excludes the political community and as such absolves the state of responsibility for social issues (Phillips, 1995). The solutions to crime and anti-social behaviour reside with the community and volunteers, for example neighbourhood watch or community policing. Like Putnam, therefore, his view of community is criticised for being incompatible with diversity and social differentiation. Consensus is assumed to be unproblematic. It also fails to deal with inequalities in people's economic rights; as Howard (1995) suggests, 'the romance of the communitarian past excludes both concern for the poor and respect for the other' (Howard, 1995, 221).

A critical, political approach to community is exemplified by the idea of deliberative democracy. Deliberative democracy is a system of political decision-making which combines elements of consensus decision making with representative democracy. Citizens are involved in processes of public deliberation over key policy issues. Deliberative democracy owes much to Habermas' theory of communicative action. Key elements of Habermas' theory are as follows: a notion of the 'public sphere' separate from the state and the market (Habermas, 1989); democracy based on reasoned debate (Habermas, 1996); the idea of the 'ideal speech situation', that is, one where there is rational dialogue between free and equal participants (Habermas, 1984). For Habermas the 'ideal speech situation' is not empirical, it is an ideal against which to assess and challenge the reality of politics. It implies a number of rules relating to inclusiveness and participation which would give such a discussion legitimacy.

Iris Marion Young focuses on deliberative democracy, and in particular the ways in which processes of decision making can be made more inclusive. Yet she also recognises the limitations of community and civil society:

... the associational life of civil society can do much to promote self-determination. Precisely because of its plurality and relative lack of co-ordination, however, civil society can only minimally advance values of self-development. Because many of the structural injustices that produce oppression have their source in economic processes, state institutions are necessary to undermine such oppression and promote self-development. (Young, 2000, 156)

This suggests that participatory processes are not, by themselves, sufficient in terms of moving towards more just and transparent decision-making and governance; rather that there is still a role for state institutions in ensuring that such processes are as fair as possible. This calls into question the

assumption underpinning participatory development that such processes will by themselves contribute to social justice.

Feminist analyses of community tend to focus on, among other elements, the fact that ideas of community tend to flatten diversity and difference (Cornwall, 2001; Cornwall and Goetz, 2005; Miraftab, 2004). By implication this leads to considerations of difference, power and conflict. Feminist perspectives have emphasised the 'dark' side of community: that community can be oppressive to women and other marginalised groups. This is the point of Guijt and Shah in 'The Myth of Community' (Guijt and Shah, 1998b, 8):

Inequalities, oppressive social hierarchies and discrimination are often overlooked, and enthusiasm generated for the cooperative and harmonious ideal promised by the imagery of 'community'.

This theme – of communities and difference – links back to Iris Marion Young's work. In 'Inclusion and Democracy' (Young, 2000) she focuses on how community can be reconceived around group differences within broader society. A key aspect of this is that she demands the extension of citizenship to the private realm, to encompass issues of gender, age and disability. Beck notes that families and communities can be oppressive:

...the social mesh of the family and village community was tight, and possibilities of control were omnipresent. Anyone who infringed the prevailing norms therefore had to reckon with rigorous sanctions (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, 9).

Similarly, Bauman (2001) notes that while community promises security, it seems at the same time to deprive us of freedom. He suggests furthermore that the tendency to hark back to an ideal community of the past is in fact a yearning for a future community that has so far never existed (Bauman, 2001, 4).

Critical approaches to community also acknowledge the fact that communities can be forces for transformation, upheaval and radical social change (Miraftab, 2004; Miraftab and Wills, 2011); there is relatively little attention to this 'dark side' of community, and its link to more violent forms of struggle and insurgency – the 'armed democrats' described by Johnston in relation to the Zapatista struggle in Chiapas (Johnston, 2011).

Finally, the constructivist view of community is one where community is viewed not as a 'natural' and given social entity, but rather as a social phenomenon that is continually invented and reinvented, maintained and affirmed by people in their interactions with each other. In his book 'The Symbolic Construction of Community' (Cohen, 1985), Cohen suggests that community is based on the symbolic construction of boundaries. Community is therefore a particular kind of awareness groups have of themselves in relation to other groups and most significantly, how one community differentiates itself from others. Community is a symbolically constructed reality, and since symbols are cultural forms that require interpretation, meaning may not be the same for all members. This fluid, changing view of community is a useful challenge to normative, homogeneous view of community that underpins many development interventions.

Participatory development and the empowered community

In order to understand the increased emphasis on community participation in education, it is important to delineate the trajectory of participatory development and participatory approaches in development. Participatory development is often explicitly based on an idea of the community: that is, people are participating in a group which is, more often than not, equated with community. This example from a case study of the Participatory Poverty Assessment in Uganda illustrates this point: ‘...[t]here was some brief discussion before the implementation of the [Participatory Poverty Assessment] of the need to follow up with communities the problems identified in the research, but there was no serious consideration of the feasibility of this, and no conclusions were reached’ (Yates and Okello, 2002, 90). This illustrates how ‘communities’ often come to be seen as unitary and homogeneous, rather than made up of people with different backgrounds, interests and motivations.

Participation has been an important strand in development policy and practice for more than 20 years (Cooke and Kothari, 2001). Participatory approaches are a loose family of approaches to learning and development that are characterised by key principles such as a group learning process (Pretty *et al.*, 1995). Pretty *et al.* (1995, p. 55, 55) note that participatory approaches in the context of development have drawn on ‘many well established traditions that have put participation, action research and adult education at the forefront of attempts to emancipate disempowered people’. Participatory development draws on a diverse range of influences including the work of Freire, applied anthropology, rapid rural appraisal (Pretty *et al.*, 1995). Cornwall (2002) notes that participatory strategies were used in colonial times to coopt and silence women in Kenya and ‘to save government money, stave off demands for services and counter opposition to the regime’ (Cornwall, 2002, 53).

Robert Chambers has been particularly influential in terms of popularising participatory approaches, in particular through Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) (Chambers, 1983; Chambers, 1992; Chambers, 1994a; Chambers, 1994b; Chambers, 1994c; Chambers, 1997).

PRA is a family of continuously evolving approaches, methods, values and behaviours that has turned much that is conventional on its head. It seeks to enable local and marginalised people to share, enhance and analyse their knowledge of life and conditions, and to plan, act, monitor and evaluate (Chambers, 2004, 7).

The idea is that ‘locals’ or ‘community members’ are facilitated to develop their own solutions to development problems in their locale. Chambers himself stresses the ‘southern’ origins of participatory approaches (Chambers, 1992, 6). This immediately raises questions of how the community is defined and delimited; as well as questions about the power of facilitators.

Various typologies of participation have been developed which often use the idea of a 'ladder' to indicate a continuum from full participation to consultation to manipulation. Figure 1 gives an example of Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation which was developed in USA in the late 1960s as a way of describing social movements at that time. According to Arnstein:

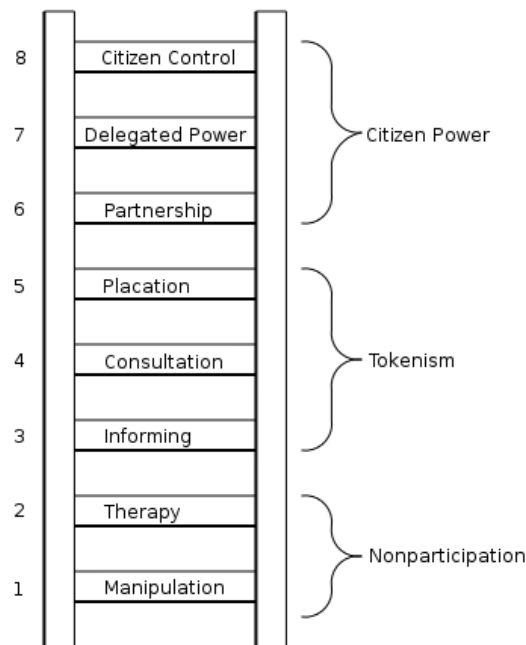


Figure 1: Ladder of participation. Source: (Arnstein, 1969)

The bottom rungs of the ladder are (1) Manipulation and (2) Therapy. These two rungs describe levels of "non-participation" that have been contrived by some to substitute for genuine participation. Their real objective is not to enable people to participate in planning or conducting programs, but to enable powerholders to "educate" or "cure" the participants. (Arnstein, 1969, 218)

It has been much used and adapted by development practitioners (see e.g. Pretty *et al.*, 1995).

Arnstein's typology differs from Pretty's in that it suggests a deliberate attempt by the authorities to 'educate' participants; while Pretty's typology has at its lowest level 'passive participation' where 'people participate by being told what is going to happen or has already happened' (Pretty *et al.*, 1995, 61). Arnstein's ladder deploys the concept of citizenship, implying a relationship with the state.

Although it is widely acknowledged that ideas about participation entered into mainstream development discourse during the 1960s and 1970s (Cooke and Kothari, 2001), there is debate as to whether this was the emergence of a new phenomenon driven by disillusionment with the state and top-down, centrally planned projects, or whether it derived from 'a long history of theories and practice of democracy, co-operation and communitarian and socialist utopias' (Stiefel and Wolfe, 1994). By the 1990s, participatory approaches became part of the policy and practice of development institutions including NGOs, donors and multilateral institutions. No intervention or project or policy could be planned without attention to participation at least in word but also in terms of design and methodology; participation became in itself a new orthodoxy (Henkel and Stirrat, 2001). The rise in popularity of

participatory methodologies over the last 20-30 years is associated with the perceived failure of 'top-down' development (Chambers, 1992; Francis, 2001). Participatory approaches seemed to offer a radical alternative to mainstream development, but a crucial question must be whether or not they challenge development orthodoxy. Policies were required to reverse power dynamics in favour of the marginalised, and the enactment of such policies was assumed to be unproblematic.

In fact, the flourishing of participatory approaches coincided with the development of a sweeping neo-liberal agenda in development, the primacy of the market and the perceived failure of state-focused development (Kothari, 2005). According to Cornwall (2002, 54), 'what they had in common was the production of spaces outside and beyond the state'. However, with the increased prevalence of participatory approaches has also come a sustained critical analysis.

Participatory approaches are not mutually exclusive with marketized approaches to development characterised by an emphasis on efficiency and cost-effectiveness. Participatory approaches offer the possibility of shifting the costs of development onto 'communities' and beneficiaries themselves. In this, participatory approaches can thus be seen as sitting quite comfortably with neo-liberal approaches to development, and even inextricably linked (Leal, 2011). It is essential therefore that participatory approaches are subject to critical analysis, and that assumptions that they act first and foremost in the interest of poor or marginalised people be challenged.

Participation and community

Where is the community in participatory development? Chambers refers only rarely to 'community' in his writing about PRA (see e.g. Chambers, 1983; Chambers, 1992; Chambers, 1997; Chambers, 2004). However, it is likely that he would propose that communities should, ideally, initiate and carry out participatory development themselves. He refers to 'local knowledge', rather than social structures (Chambers, 1983). He does explicitly express a preference for working with the group rather than the individual: 'In PRA, discussions with individuals can and do take place, but there is relatively more group activity' (Chambers, 1992, 41). His rationale for this is that 'paradoxically, and contrary to common belief, sensitive subjects are sometimes more freely discussed in groups, when individuals would not wish to discuss them alone with a stranger' (Chambers, 1992, 41). His critics suggest however that his tendency to prioritise and even romanticise the knowledge of rural people is on a par with naïve and romantic views of community as traditional and authentic: the 'community' in participatory approaches to development is often seen as a 'natural' social entity characterised by solidaristic relations (the normative view of community discussed earlier). As Cleaver (2001) points out, from there it is a short step to assuming that communities can be represented and channelled in simple organizational forms (Cleaver, 2001, 44).

In the education sector, given huge need to invest in expanding education, and associated bill for government, participatory approaches can be particularly attractive. In this, participatory approaches can thus be seen as sitting quite comfortably with neo-liberal approaches to development, and even inextricably linked (Leal, 2011).

Participatory development: done *to* or done *by* communities?

In the World Bank Participation Sourcebook (World Bank, 1996), '[p]articipation is a process through which stakeholders *influence* and *share* control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them' (World Bank, 1996, xi). I would suggest that influencing and sharing is very different from people finding solutions to their own problems, and implies that the intervention has already been designed. Similarly, a 2011 DFID policy paper on empowerment and accountability speaks of '[e]nabling participation and engagement between poor people and decision-makers in order to strengthen accountability, increase responsiveness and encourage political representatives to address poor people's concerns' (DFID, 2011, 3). The focus here is on political representatives changing their activities, rather than enabling poor people to be decision makers themselves. Since the 1990s, participatory approaches have been subject to sustained critique (Cleaver, 2001; Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Cooke and Kothari, 2002). In summary, the main criticisms that have been levelled at participatory development are, briefly, that its focus on the local ignores wider structures of injustice and oppression; an unrealistic approach to power and empowerment; it doesn't work; it fails to deal with difference, diversity and individual agency; it is too costly. Critiques of participatory development are also, to an extent, critiques of community, and I will consider how community appears in these critiques.

Critics argue that the focus of participatory development ignores wider structures of injustice and oppression: 'emphasis on micro level of intervention can obscure and indeed sustain broader macro-level inequalities and injustice' (Cooke and Kothari, 2001, 14). Mosse (2001) challenges the assumption that attention to 'local knowledge' through participatory learning will redefine the relationship between local communities and development organisations. In the example he uses of a donor funded farming project in India, he shows that in fact 'local knowledge' is structured by development organisations. This is then in direct opposition to Chambers' view. Mohan (2001) explores the ways in which participatory approaches are based on a 'primitivistic' understanding of community. He sees this as a 'privileging of the cultural realm over the material' (Mohan, 2001, 159) which obliterates the possibility of looking at other sites where knowledge and power are created – i.e. the market, the development community and the state, and recalls Weber's separation of community from the economic realm.

A second critique is that participatory approaches have an unrealistic approach to power and empowerment. There are problems in terms of power differences between community members; but also between community members and development agencies and the state. According to Kothari (2001), the tendency of participatory approaches to focus on the local leads to the assumption that social power and control are found only at macro and central levels. This, she suggest, leads to the assumption that 'people who wield power are located at institutional centres, while those who are subjugated and subjected to power are to be found at the local or regional level' (Kothari, 2001, 140). In fact, there are likely to be significant differences in power between individuals (Hildyard *et al.*, 2001). Furthermore Henkel and Stirrat (2001) suggest that the empowerment promised by, and central to, participatory approaches, is not as liberating as it appears. Indeed, they suggest, the issue is not so much whether people are being empowered, but what they are empowered *for*: 'in the case of many if

not all participatory projects it seems evident that what people are 'empowered to do' is to take part in the modern sector of 'developing' societies' (Henkel and Stirrat, 2001, 13). They seem to be pointing to a lack of choice at a certain level of participatory development – the choice of whether and how to participate in a modernising project. This resonates with critics who say that the problem with participatory approaches is fundamentally to do with their theoretical underpinning (see e.g. Kapoor, 2002). In response to this critique we see an increased focus in linking participatory approaches to governance, primarily through systems and structures for holding local and national government to account (Ackerman, 2011; Ribot, 2004).

A third, linked critique is that participatory development fails to deal with difference, diversity and individual agency. Understandings of motivations of individuals to participate are vague; simplistic assumptions are made about the rationality of participating; participatory approaches fail to recognise how the different, changing and multiple identities of individuals impact upon their choices about whether and how to participate. According to Cleaver (2001, 44-45):

...[p]articipatory approaches stress solidarity within communities; processes of conflict, and negotiation, inclusion and exclusion are occasionally acknowledged but little investigated. The 'solidarity' models of community, upon which much development intervention is based, may acknowledge social stratification but nevertheless assume some underlying communality of interest'

This links to feminist critiques of community (Guijt and Shah, 1998a), which acknowledge that community has positive connotations: it evokes images of meeting people's real needs and widespread participation at the grassroots level, thus creating a normative sense of 'a good thing (Guijt and Shah, 1998b, 7). The problem with this is that 'communities are neither homogeneous in composition and concerns, nor necessarily harmonious in their relations' (Guijt and Shah, 1998b, 8). Where participatory institutions 'reproduce stereotyped identities, assumptions and expectations for women, women - instead of fashioning their political imagination and democratic aspirations – come to experience multiple doses of humiliation, discrimination and exclusion' (Mohanty, 2011, 279).

A further critique comes from an economic perspective: participatory development is more time-consuming and therefore can be more costly than more top down, directive alternatives. For example a World Bank policy paper entitled 'Empowering people by transforming institutions: Social development in World Bank operations' alludes to issues to do with the cost of participatory approaches (World Bank, 2005).

A final critique deals not with participatory approaches themselves – but with their co-option and subversion by development bureaucracies (Francis, 2001; Mosse, 2005). In many cases the focus of analysis of participatory approaches is on projects funded by bilateral and multilateral development institutions that have incorporated participatory approaches into their project design (e.g. Mosse, 2005). This is important because in many respects development institutions, their practices, structures and projects are in tension with participatory approaches. Projects are rigidly planned, time-bound and subject to the monitoring, accountability and reporting requirements of donor agencies. In contrast, participatory approaches are in theory organic, open-ended, based on the priorities of participants, and

accountable only to them. Participatory approaches in projects are therefore 'round pegs squeezed into a square hole' and the expectations attached to them simply unrealistic in such a constrained institutional environment (Francis, 2001).

According to this narrative, participatory development, co-opted by governments and development agencies, looks more like a technical fix, rather than a tool for analysing, questioning and changing power relations at the local level. Participatory development has become something that is done to communities, rather than something that they themselves initiate.

Participatory development is complex and difficult to do well; as a result very often its results do not live up to expectations (Cleaver, 2001). There is evidence however that it can be transformative, or contribute to transformation (Cornwall, 2004a). Critics disagree on whether this mixed picture stems from the theoretical underpinnings of participatory development (Henkel and Stirrat, 2001; Kothari, 2001), from poor implementation (Chambers, 2004), or from the subversion and co-option of participatory development by development bureaucracies. Others are working towards a way forward by refocusing participatory development to take more account of its critics and to change and move forward (Cornwall, 2004b; Hickey and Mohan, 2004), for example through engaging with government structures and accountability systems, and through a re-engagement with collective action and social movements (Miraftab and Wills, 2011; Thompson and Tapscott, 2010).

Meanwhile, it is important to consider how critics of participatory development understand and deal with the notion of community. It is addressed in one of three ways – either ignored, or it is used unproblematically, or it is questioned as a category. Where it is ignored, writers tend to focus on another way of presenting and discussing the people and sites who are the focus of participatory development, for example the village (Hildyard *et al.*, 2001), the production of local knowledge (Kothari, 2001), local people, beneficiaries, 'people 'out there' to be empowered' (Henkel and Stirrat, 2001, 183). This diversity reflects somehow the multiple aspects of community: space, power and knowledge, while also pointing to its shortcomings when we need to talk about individuals and power relationships. Another position is to use the term to indicate a set of concerns that have been legitimated by a participatory process and have therefore come to represent the formal community position (Mosse, 2001, 19). In this way, community becomes part of the project. Elsewhere, the use of community in participatory development is explicitly critiqued. Mohan suggests that the way that participatory development draws a distinction between Western and local knowledge is Eurocentric and paternalistic: 'the primitivist notion of the local as harmonious community is reflected in the way in which PRA tends to promote a consensual view' (Mohan, 2001, 159-160). However, he does not explicitly identify how and why community and participation are linked. Cleaver (2001) identifies some of the 'myths of community', such as the idea that there is one, identifiable, unitary and homogenous community in a location, but seems to imply that the concept is still useful, but requires that 'we may see the community as the site of both solidarity and conflict, shifting alliances, power and social structures' (Cleaver, 2001, 45).

Clearly, to problematise the idea of community is to problematise the very idea of defining and working with people in groups. I would argue that participatory development is inextricably linked with an idea of the community that has a tendency to flatten out diversity and difference. This leads to a curious paradox: while the language of participatory development is emancipatory, are its underpinning ideas about community actually maintaining and reinforcing the status quo? This analysis requires us to question then whether community participation in education, similarly, is blind to issues of diversity and difference, and tends to maintain, rather than challenge the status quo.

Decentralisation

Having examined community participation from the perspective of participatory development, I turn now to decentralisation as a driver for community participation. Decentralisation is often linked to community participation since community participation is seen as devolution of decision making to school and community level. Nigeria is in a process of decentralisation, as discussed in Chapter 2. Community participation must be understood within the context of debates about school governance and decentralization.

Decentralisation has come to be seen as a shorthand for governance and accountability reforms in developing countries, with the implication that it will involve the democratization of decision making around service delivery (Dunne, Akyeampong and Humphreys, 2007). Decentralisation refers to a process through which 'the role and importance of subnational government is expanded' (Ahmad and Brosio, 2009, 10). As Eaton, Kaiser et al. point out, '[d]ecentralization comes in many shapes and sizes, but in every instance involves changing the institutional rules that divide resources and responsibilities among levels of government.' (Eaton, Kaiser and Smoke, 2010, 1). Ahmad & Brosio (2009) identify three waves of literature on decentralisation: the classical literature; fiscal federalism (based on the assumption that decentralised government will be more efficient), and so called second generation fiscal federalism which takes into account institutions, individuals and the political economy. They note that many interventions are inspired by fiscal federalism and therefore fail to take account of politics.

Decentralisation is not one, uniform process and it takes many shapes and forms. It is commonly categorised according to Rondelli's (1981) schema which distinguishes between deconcentration, devolution, delegation and privatisation, each with its own characteristics and theoretical underpinnings. Certain tasks of government or service provision may be transferred to local units of central agencies (devolution); or to lower levels of government (delegation), or to semi-autonomous authorities (deconcentration). While deconcentration and delegation imply a reorganisation of central government, devolution means relinquishing political power (Rondellini, 1981). The particular form that decentralisation takes has implications for local government and service delivery (Brinkerhoff and Azfar, 2006), since there is limited value in devolving control or decision-making powers to institutions that are not representative or accountable (Ribot, 2011).

According to Azfar, Kähkönen et al. (1999), the decentralisation is assumed to lead to improved service delivery in three ways: 'by improving the efficiency of resource allocation, by promoting accountability

and reducing corruption within government, and by improving cost recovery' (Azfar *et al.*, 1999, 2) They note however that the evidence base is patchy in that there has been little empirical research on the link between decentralisation and service delivery, and that what research there is indicates that decentralisation does not necessarily lead to improved governance. Crucially, they note, 'The argument that decentralization improves resource allocation, accountability, and cost recovery relies heavily on the assumption that subnational governments have better information than the central government about the needs and preferences of the local population' (Azfar *et al.*, 1999, 14-15) but there is no evidence that this necessarily holds true, since it requires mechanisms for local populations to participate in decision making as well as awareness of the actions of local government.

Decentralised services, just because they are closer to the people, cannot be assumed to be more participatory:

Subnational governments... do not automatically have better information about user preferences than the central government. The sheer physical proximity to constituents does not ensure that subnational governments have the needed information unless they make an effort to elicit it. Similarly, the local population is not necessarily aware of the activities of subnational governments. (Azfar *et al.*, 1999, 15)

The literature on whether decentralisation enhances governance, service delivery and poverty reduction identifies a range of different factors which influence the performance of decentralised arrangements, including the political framework, fiscal arrangements, transparency of government actions, citizen participation, civil society and social structure, and capacity of local government Azfar, Kähkönen *et al.* (1999). Ahmad & Brosio (2009) examine research on decentralisation in Bolivia, Spain, Uganda and Poland. They note that decentralisation reforms are least likely to succeed where inequalities are high, due to the risk of local capture, partial decentralisation, and poorly functioning institutions.

According to this approach, policies specify desired outcomes, state officials are responsible for their enactment. Policies linked to decentralisation may not be well implemented, they suggest, unless local officials are rewarded for good outcomes; as well as external mechanisms to promote accountability and efficiency, e.g. 'public disclosure of government budgets, expenditure programs, and procurement, as well as promoting citizen participation in public service delivery, permit external monitoring of government actions and performance by the local population'. Citizen participation is thus seen as the solution, despite the fact that it has already been noted as something that is difficult to do well (Azfar *et al.*, 1999, 15). While decentralisation may improve incentives, resource constraints may also become more severe unless sufficient attention is paid to the resourcing of local government. Also, the further decentralisation is along the devolution continuum, the more likely it is to lead to spaces for community to contribute; but the greater capacity is required at central government (Brinkerhoff and Azfar, 2006).

Daun (2007) reviews processes of education decentralization worldwide since the 1980s in a range of countries and suggests that despite similar policies, it is important to differentiate between policy discourses, implementation and outcomes. Daun differentiates between different orientations to decentralisation, including the 'communitarian/humanistic orientation' (Daun, 2007, 15); within this he distinguishes between 'traditional' communitarianism, linked to 'the traditional community based on

residence, kinship, religion or all of them' (Daun, 2007, 15), and 'modern' communitarianism, which can be more dispersed, but in both cases, in opposition to the nation state and centralisation. This conception of community as an ideology, rooted in traditional practices, is highly reminiscent of Weber's analysis. In a review of literature on decentralization in education focusing mainly on Bangladesh, India, Ghana and South Africa, Dunne et. al. (2007) conclude that while decentralization can have desirable outcomes, it can exacerbate inequities in society; their review indicates that the introduction of PTAs and SMCs in these countries has in general led to a widening of gaps in resourcing between urban and rural schools; and that there is little attention paid in the literature to the impact of decentralization on improving access to, and quality of, schooling. According to Dunne et al. (2007) there is little research on the relationships between different actors involved with school governance, i.e. local government, communities and school staff.

Community is often seen as a solution to governance problems by development actors, in particular where the state is either absent or problematic. We see how solutions based on community participation can have very different genesis – from ideals of participatory development or from the rationale of marketisation and consumer choice.

The problem with this analysis is that it is circular, in that it was based on foundational concepts such as community and participation that were taken as read and never unpacked. In addition, it seems to focus on generalising and constructing a sort of ideal-type edifice of decentralisation for optimally successful service delivery. It is based on the idea of the rational, economic individual: Access to information on the actions and performance of government is critical for the promotion of government accountability. Unless the public knows what goods and services are provided by the government, how well they are provided, who the beneficiaries are, and how much they cost, it cannot demand effective government (Azfar *et al.*, 1999, 12).

Participatory development and the production of community

I have considered ways of thinking about participatory development and communities where communities initiate and lead participatory development, as envisaged by Robert Chambers. I have also considered ways of thinking where participatory development acts on communities, for example as envisaged by certain critics of participatory development (Cooke and Kothari, 2002), or proponents of some models of decentralisation (Azfar *et al.*, 1999). A third position is one which views communities as an abstract idea or concept *created* by participatory development. This position draws on a critical analysis of the politics, discourses and power dynamics of participatory development. I will first address key theoretical concepts underpinning this approach, before coming to specific discussions of community and participatory development.

Power can be seen as deriving from personal, professional or institutional or bureaucratic sources (Busher, 2005)

These sources of power derive from who people are, the knowledge and values they hold, how they act in particular circumstances and how they use the symbolic and material resources accessible to them (Busher, 2005, 89)

The concept of symbolic resources and an understanding of the different sources of power, entails that in the Nigerian context, the power that derives from traditional chiefs, is open to scrutiny. Foucault's conceptualisation of power is used to critique participatory development (Henkel and Stirrat, 2001; Kothari, 2001). Foucault rejects the notion that power resides with certain people and not with others, and focuses on the more diffuse notion of capillary power (Foucault, 1980). This denial of a division between 'rulers' and 'ruled' is in direct opposition to Chambers' vision of 'uppers' and 'lowers'. For Foucault, power and knowledge are strongly interlinked. Knowledge is culturally, socially and politically produced embedded in power relations, rather than constructed in isolation from them (Foucault, 2002).

Power is a key element of discourse. The notion of discourse emerges primarily from Foucault's concern with how knowledge is created and sustained, and in whose interests (Foucault, 1977). Discourses in Foucault's work are 'the spoken or written practices or visual representations which characterise a topic, an era or a cultural practice' (Grbich, 2004, 40). The analysis of discourse can indicate which individuals and groups have been more powerful at a particular moment in time and the forms of knowledge construction associated with this (Foucault, 1972).

A strand of critical policy analysis in education draws on Foucault to develop a critique of market reforms in education, linked to the ideological forces of global capitalism, and the capture of power and resources in education by corporate interests. In this reading, community participation is an element of increased marketisation of education, because of its affinity with a decreasing role for the state in education and a greater reliance on market mechanisms, and the unwillingness of governments to pay for the further expansion of education. The marketisation of education is described by Ball (1998) as a 'new orthodoxy' whereby individual and consumer choice in education markets is 'tied together' with a focus on national economic interests. The elements of this orthodoxy are:

1. *Improving national economics by tightening the connection between schooling, employment, productivity and trade.*
2. *Enhancing student outcomes in employment-related skills and competencies.*
3. *Attaining more direct control over curriculum content and assessment.*
4. *Reducing the costs to government of education.*
5. *Increasing community input to education by more direct involvement in school decision making and pressure of market choice. (Carter & O'Neill, cited in Ball, 1998, 122).*

This perspective is in striking opposition to the rose-tinted view of community participation that can be seen in the international development literature.

From Ball's critical policy analysis perspective, drawing on Foucault, policies are both texts and discourses and it is necessary to differentiate between them (Ball, 2006), although text and discourse

are linked. Policy as text focuses on policy not just as written text, but texts as the semiotic dimension of social events, that is, including meetings and Ministry websites for example. The emphasis on the analysis of policy as discourse is then on the interpretation and the agency of actors – as writers and readers – in relation to policy (Ball, Maguire and Braun, 2011, 611). As discourse, policy exercises power through the production of truth and knowledge. Discourse is, he suggests, a useful means of understanding policy formation since

...policies are, pre-eminently, statements about practice - the way things could or should be - which rest upon, derive from, statements about the world - about the way things are. They are intended to bring about idealised solutions to diagnosed problems. Policies embody claims to speak with authority, they legitimate and initiate practices in the world, and they privilege certain visions and interests. They are power/knowledge configurations par excellence (Ball, 2006, 26).

Policies are therefore firmly rooted within the social and political world in which they are created and by implication we can learn things about that world through the analysis of policy as discourse. Critics suggest that while ‘policy as discourse’ is useful in terms of illustrating a ‘politics of discourse’ and exploring policy texts and their historical, political, social and cultural contexts (Taylor, 2004, 435), it does not go far enough in terms of ‘fine-grained linguistic analysis’ (Taylor, 2004, 435). As outlined by Taylor, critical discourse analysis (CDA) aims to combine textual & contextual analysis of discourses. It ‘...aims to explore the relationships between discursive practices, events, and texts; and wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes (Taylor, 2004, 435) .

Policy enactment, that is, the shape that policies actually take on the ground, is subject to local influences, institutional pressures, as well as the interpretation and agency of policy actors, who can challenge and resist as well as champion a particular policy. During the process of policy enactment, there is a tendency for ‘recontextualisation’, or simultaneous ‘dissolution and conservation’ within education policy (Ball, 2008: 193). That is, while some things change, others remain the same: that is, that while education policy is subject to continued reform and change, there are elements within it that remain unchanged and that reflect social and political structures. Ideas of recontextualisation and enactment, that is, the shape that policies take on the ground, present particularly interesting issues when policies are transferred across cultures and political traditions.

In addition, Ball suggests that while in the context of increased power to communities, while something is given, something is also being taken away. In the UK, policies that claim to increase parental choice and voice, while appearing to give parents more choice, at the same time regulate it more closely (Ball, 2008). This manifests itself in a dual approach to parents, so that while a certain sort of freedom is offered, regulatory mechanisms are brought along with it, in the shape of, for example, the requirements of PTA or committee membership: ‘a virtuous, disciplined and responsible autonomy which, if not taken up appropriately, provokes ‘intervention’’ (Ball, 2008: 178). That is, participation by parents is welcomed, as long as those parents conform to certain ideas of orthodox parenthood.

This reflects a relationship between families and the state: firstly, a market relation based on more choice and voice and the use of ‘parent power’ – which, Ball concedes, contains elements of ‘bolstering

civil society through participation' (Ball, 2008: 179); and secondly a disciplinary relationship of normalisation, or 'responsibilisation' (Rose, cited in Ball, 2008) where 'causes of 'failure' and inequality are posited as cultural and moral rather than structural' (Ball, 2008: 179). An example would be pointing out differences in educational achievement between children of single parents and those of families where both parents are present, and suggesting a causal link between single parenthood and poor achievement, rather than the structural barriers faced by single parent. This, suggests Ball, is reflection of the changing role of the state: from rower to steerer; increasingly 'more extensive, intrusive, surveillant and centred' (202).

While Ball's analysis derives from a consideration of conditions in the UK, it raises a number of questions with regard to thinking about the expansion of community participation in Nigeria. For example, it poses the question of to what extent elements of this orthodoxy (e.g. consumer choice, increased efficiency) are present in the Nigerian context in relation to government and donors, if so, why, and do they have the same resonances in the UK? Are strategies related to that orthodoxy being imported without sufficient attention to context?

This analysis of discourse and power challenges an assumption underpinning participatory development that increased participation will address inequalities. As Kothari (2001) points out,

...participatory processes can unearth who gets what, when and where, but not necessarily the processes by which this happens or the ways in which the knowledge produced through participatory techniques is a normalised one that reflects and articulates wider power relations in society (Kothari, 2001; 141).

It questions whether that the more powerful participants, that is the facilitators, the Headteachers and the village leaders will necessarily have the same interests as more marginalised members of the group, what discourse they will deploy to articulate their views and throws into doubt the likelihood that a 'successful' participatory process (i.e. one that achieves consensus) is indeed consensual. This is because of the social structures and power relations in which such processes are embedded, at the local, as well as the national and international levels. In looking critically at participatory processes, one needs to use a broader and more direct assessment of power relations.

As Ball says,

I take schools, in common with virtually all social organisations, to be arenas of struggle; to be riven with actual or potential conflict between members; to be poorly co-ordinated; to be ideologically diverse (Ball, 1987, 19)

Studies of micro-politics of the school emphasise the conflict and struggle that characterise the school as social organisation. There is a strong tradition of examining the micro-politics of the school (see e.g. Blasé and Björk, 2010), primarily in western contexts. Micropolitics refers to the use of formal and informal power by individuals and groups to achieve their goals in organizations. Cooperative and conflictive processes are integral components of micropolitics (Blase and Blase, 2002). This is in contrast to the macropolitics, defined as the formal policies and structures of education management. The use of power with the school is then a key concern of micropolitical analysis. The micropolitical analysis of

schools has been documented in South Africa (Brown and Duku, 2008) and Zimbabwe (Tshabangu, 2008).

Similarly, approaches to policy enactment research in the UK have sought to challenge linear assumptions about policy enactment in a similar way to this research. For example in their study of four secondary schools in England Ball, Maguire & Braun seek to make visible the ‘jumbled, messy, contested creative and mundane social interactions’ (Ball, Maguire and Braun, 2011, 2) that constitute how teachers experience policy enactment in schools. Thus, teachers are understood as both actors and subjects: ‘Policy is written onto bodies and produces particular subject positions’ (Ball, Maguire and Braun, 2011). Ball, Maguire & Braun identify a range of roles adopted by enactors within policy work, as outlined in Table 3 below:

Policy actor	Policy work
Narrators	Interpretation, selection and enforcement of meanings
Entrepreneurs	Advocacy, creativity and integration
Outsiders	Entrepreneurship, partnership and monitoring
Transactors	Accounting, reporting, monitoring/supporting, facilitating
Enthusiasts	Investment, creativity, satisfaction and career
Translators	Production of texts, artefacts and events
Critics	Monitoring of management, maintaining counter-discourses (e.g. union representatives)
Receivers	Coping, defending and dependency

Table 3: Policy actors and policy work (Ball, Maguire and Braun, 2011, 49)

In brief, policy translators and entrepreneurs drive the way in which policy is selected and understood; transactors and translators are middle level implementers who work to translate policy into action; critics are those who resist policy; and finally the receivers, in the context of the study, were primarily junior teachers who struggled to manage the large burden of frequently changing and often inconsistent policy directives in an English secondary school. Of course, this thesis concerns research in very different contexts: multiple levels of government, as well as schools; and a low intensity policy environment, that is, with limited policy initiatives reaching school level and limited accountability and monitoring. In the Nigerian context therefore, we may see that fewer positions are available to policy actors – in particular, a narrowing of options at middle management level – the transactors, translators and enthusiasts. Nevertheless, this approach underlines the utility of seeking to understand the agency, that is the ability of individuals to chose and act, and the strategies of different policy actors.

Another key strand of the power/discourse analysis is highlighted by Mosse (2001) who suggests that whether or not participatory development works, and why, is fundamentally the wrong question. The real question lies in understanding why, and how, development organisations deploy participatory development as an instrument of power. For example, Mosse (2001) suggests that participation is a

‘political value to which institutions will sign up for different reasons’ (Mosse, 2001, 32). That is, it is important to understand the incentives for individuals and institutions, including NGOs, donors and governments, who pursue participatory development.

This means that analytically fruitful avenues for future enquiry are not to be found in the normative honing of participation as a singular policy idea, or in the development of the perfect set of participatory techniques, but rather in the development of a grounded understanding of the relationship between policy ideas and development practices, paying more attention to the development projects, organisations and professionals that frame and control ‘participation’ (Mosse, 2001, 32)

This approach to understanding the discursive power of participatory development, and how and why individuals and organisations deploy it, strikes me as a valuable one, and I will return to this point later in this chapter.

Cornwall (2002) draws on a Foucauldian perspective on power, Gaventa’s work and Lefebvre’s work on the production of space to analyse participatory institutions. A participatory institution is understood as a space for participation that has been created by someone; and that the ‘act of space making is an act of power’ (Cornwall, 2002, 51). The space will thus be characterised by the fact that it is infused with existing relations of power; that it may be ‘discursively bounded’: that is, it may permit only limited influence by participants and may stifle dissent; while at the same time the space is open to marginalised voices and collective action. The questions she therefore proposes asking are to do with, first of all, how the space in question has been constructed? How do members construct themselves in relation to the space? The question that I would like to add focuses on how the notion of community is performed and created within this space.

Cornwall acknowledges that conventional perspectives ‘circumscribe the possibilities for public engagement within a frame determined by external agencies’ (Cornwall, 2002, 49). The literature, she notes, is focused on what mechanisms for participation there are, and how they are supposed to work, while

Less attention has been paid to instances of participation as situated practices, on how they actually work in practice, and on who takes part, on what basis and with what resources (Cornwall, 2002, 50)

The questions posed by Cornwall fit very much with the concerns that underpin my research. By ‘situated practice’ I understand that she means that the practice needs to be understood as part of a social, historical, political and cultural context; rather than as an idealised notion. However, her work is focused at community level – a concept that is not clearly defined – and which leaves questions about local government and other layers of government.

Cornwall emphasises the need ‘to situate those who invite, as well as those who are invited’ (Cornwall, 2002, 52). A ‘new’ participatory space bears the traces of social relations and experiences of similar spaces. They may therefore be ‘infused with existing relations of power, reproducing existing relations of rule’ (Cornwall, 2002, 51). In this way, spaces created by ‘the powerful’ may be ‘discursively bounded to permit only limited citizen influence, colonising interaction and stifling dissent’ (Cornwall, 2002, 51).

According to Cornwall's analysis, participatory spaces are not static. Rather relations of power within and across them are constantly reconfigured; while participants themselves actively occupy, negotiate, subvert and mediate those spaces; they construct themselves in reaction to those spaces, while at the same time they are constructed by those spaces (Cornwall, 2002, 50).

In addition, Cornwall applies these ideas to the concept of the community. A 'spatial practice' such as a community meeting is not just based on a pre-existing, shared notion of community rather it performs and creates it. Cornwall emphasises however the contingency and fluidity of the discourses and power relations that produce spaces for participation. This makes them 'ambiguous and unpredictable' (Cornwall, 2002, 3).

Particular spaces may be produced by the powerful, but filled with those with alternative visions whose involvement transforms their possibilities, pushing its boundaries, changing the discourse and taking control (Cornwall, 2002, 51).

Although the space may be created with one purpose, it can end up doing something quite different; while a space can at the same time be a mechanism of surveillance and control, it can at the same time open up a space for collective action or marginalised voices.

Conclusions: identifying gaps, raising questions

In the context of an increased focus on community participation in education, I have explored some of the conceptual underpinnings of community, and the debates and tensions that exist. I have sought to locate community participation in education in relation to two key approaches to development: participatory development and decentralisation. Within each of these approaches, I have examined ideas of community that underpin them, and their critiques. These critiques reveal a fundamental divide in terms of how the relationship between communities and participatory development is perceived. Participatory development can be something that communities initiate themselves; or can be something that is done to communities; or, drawing on critical policy/discourse analysis, participatory development *produces* communities. By seeing community as a powerful discursive construct, highlights both its power as well as its elusiveness as a concept. Thus, community participation can be both radical and transformatory, and yet highly conservative. In this way it appeals to governments, NGOs and donors, who may themselves occupy positions anywhere between the conservative or transformatory ends of the spectrum, or somewhere in between.

During the course of this literature review I have identified a number of areas for further exploration. Firstly, there is a lack of research into participatory, community-based institutions that takes into account local power dynamics and political processes. By political processes, I mean an understanding of who has the power and who controls resources, material and symbolic, as well as the process of policy enactment. Secondly, research about community participation in education has tended to focus on the community as instrumental to development goals to do with increased enrolment or achievement. Although there are studies on the micropolitics of schools and community participation they are not

numerous. Finally, there are few studies which focus on understanding how participation is used as a political tool by governments, donors and development projects, and the contested relationship between policy and practice.

In examining SBMCs in Nigeria, I will therefore focus on the politics, processes and dynamics of participation, rather than the outcomes. I will look at community from a discursive perspective, to explore how it is used in policy documents, literature, research and analysis as well as people's words, how it is constructed in particular texts, and how it constructs and positions its members. I also want to see how such practices have real and material effects on people, and contribute to processes of inclusion and exclusion, exploring how individuals at all levels – community, local, state and federal government – actively construct their own engagement with the SBMC. This study is therefore underpinned by a critical approach to community and deals with questions which include: how is the idea of community created in policy? Why? With what effect? How is the idea of community created in the enactment of policy? Why? With what effect? How do participatory institutions create community?

In the next chapter, I outline the methodology of this study used to collect data to explore these issues empirically.

Chapter 4: Contested methodologies: researching community participation in education

We are all interpretive 'bricoleurs' stuck in the present, working against the past, as we move into a politically charged and challenging future (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011b, xiii).

The purpose of this chapter is to outline both the academic and practical choices that led to the research for this study taking a particular shape, as well as to reflect on that process. In terms of policy, the example of the Yola conference, introduced in Chapter 1, serves to introduce some of the key concerns of this study from a methodological perspective. The conference drew on evidence from Nigeria and elsewhere in order to recommend School Based Management Committees as a new policy direction. Thus, we can see in it, a key moment in the construction of SBMCs as an invited space for participation, that is one 'into which people (as users, citizens or beneficiaries) are invited to participate by various kinds of authorities, be they government, supranational agencies or non-governmental organisations' (Gaventa, 2006, 26). The implication of this is that, in order to understand the genesis of SBMC policy it is crucial for us to examine, as far as possible, not only the policy text which came out of this meeting, the evidence that was used, the authorities that did the inviting, their politics and incentives, as well as the context in which this policy was developed. This examination of multiple types of data required a range of methodological approaches.

This chapter begins with a discussion of theoretical approaches to research and how they relate to the themes of this study. In addition it outlines the conceptual framework, an overview of the methods used, a description of how the case study schools were selected, a description of the approach used for analysis, and a discussion of ethical considerations. A reflection on the process of conducting the research and, more broadly, on the politics of research relationships in international development has become a significant part of this thesis and is discussed in this chapter.

Paradigms of inquiry

As discussed in Chapter 2, the main research questions for this study are:

- 1 What are the key policies around SBMCs in Nigeria, and what ideas about community do they carry and create?
- 2 How are these policies understood by key stakeholders at federal, state, local government, school and community levels?
- 3 How have these policies been enacted at school and community level?
- 4 What are the implications of the ways in which SBMC policy has been enacted for questions of gender and inclusion – that is, has SBMC policy changed the extent to which men and women are included or excluded from participation in school management.

These questions together address the overarching concern with how ideas of community appear and are created in policy and practice through the enactment of SBMC policy. The questions are suited to a

qualitative research approach, since they focus on the understandings and perceptions of individuals with the aim of producing 'detailed and intricate descriptions' (Denscombe, 2007, 248).

... the qualitative researcher studies things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011a, 3).

The aim is to provide a 'thick description', to use Geertz's term (Geertz, 1973), of a few cases, that will seek to develop an understanding of the dynamics of community participation in education at school, community and local government levels. The areas for enquiry outlined above required a focus on relationships within and between key institutions, and the perspective of diverse stakeholders, including those with limited influence and voice, in the process of policy enactment.

Within the field of qualitative research, Lincoln et. al. (2011) differentiate between a number of approaches to research, or 'paradigms of inquiry': positivism, postpositivism, critical theory, constructivism and the participatory paradigm. They emphasise, however, that in a rapidly changing field, that these paradigms are not necessarily separate, or in contention, rather that they 'interbreed' (Lincoln, Lynham and Guba, 2011, 97), and it is useful to consider 'where and how paradigms exhibit confluence and where and how they exhibit differences, controversies and contradictions' (Lincoln, Lynham and Guba, 2011, 97).

The critical theory and constructivist paradigms are most appropriate for this study. Critical theory is a research paradigm with an explicitly political orientation, that is, 'its goal is to critique and challenge, to transform and empower' (Merriam, 2009, 9). This study had its origins in my observations over fifteen years as a development practitioner that community based institutions, which were supposed to be participatory, and to empower poor people were not doing so, and a concern to understand and change this situation. It is thus driven by my desire to critique, and challenge the form that community-based development often takes – but also to seek change. It also came from observations that women, in particular, are frequently excluded from such processes, and yet the same approaches to community-based institutions persist. In this respect, as a researcher, I am influenced by feminist research traditions, which seek to tackle women's concerns, and gender inequalities more broadly (Maynard, 1994; Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2002). Feminist research can be understood as part of the critical theory paradigm (yet not limited to it) (Lincoln, Lynham and Guba, 2011), or, as a guiding theory which 'which shapes the type of questions asked, informs how data are collected and analyzed, and provides a call for action and change' (Cresswell, 2009, 62).

The constructivist paradigm is generally based on the view that knowledge is socially constructed, rather than an objective truth to be discovered, and aims rather to describe, understand and interpret social phenomena (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011a, 13; Merriam, 2009, 11). This paradigm links to a Foucauldian concept of knowledge, that is, knowledge as culturally, socially and politically produced and embedded in power relations. In this paradigm, policy and discourse are important foci of analysis as they articulate and reflect social structures and power relations, including the privileging of powerful voices and concerns. Analysis of discourse involves uncovering the historical processes by which they have been constructed; Foucault likens this to an archaeological dig. A key part of this process is to look not just at

what is there, but what gaps, interruptions and discontinuities are there and that may indicate erased or marginalised voices or events (Foucault, 1972). This reflects one of the starting points for the research being the concern to examine how the nature and purpose of SBMC policy, policy enactment and the idea of community were understood differently by different actors in different positions.

The fact that commentators categorise research paradigms differently indicates that divisions between them are to some extent arbitrary, for example for some commentators consider participatory research is part of critical theory (see e.g. Merriam (2009, 36) and that researchers do not fit neatly into one category or another. So while this study explores the meanings of community as contingent, fluid and shifting (reflecting a constructionist approach to research), I will at the same time be exploring both material and discursive explanations for those meanings. So, for example, I am concerned to look both at the material basis for exclusion from a school management committee (i.e. are poorer people represented?) at the same time as recognising that the SBMC draws on powerful discursive constructions (community, participation) to include as well as exclude, and that those constructions are linked to processes that have real consequences for people.

This ‘magpie’ approach to research chimes with the image of the researcher as *bricoleur* proposed by Denzin & Lincoln (2011a), who have rejected the more rigid boundaries between research paradigms that they had previously espoused (Lincoln and Guba, 2005). *Bricoleur* refers to someone who mends and makes things from whatever comes to hand, with a sense of cobbling together, make-do-and mend. Thus, a researcher can be an interpretivist bricoleur, theoretical bricoleur, a narrative bricoleur, or a combination of them all (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011a, 5). To extend this metaphor to my own research, my *bricolage* is constructed using primarily the critical and constructivist toolboxes, but with a significant dash of participatory and post-structural paradigms.

Table 4 below outlines a way of conceptualising different approaches to the relationship between community and participatory development outlined in Chapter 3. It links each of the three orientations to approaches to education reform and the theory or concept of community underpins each orientation:

Relationship between community & participatory development	Education	Community
Participatory development <i>acts on</i> communities	Decentralisation reform & related projects (e.g. ESSPIN)	Community as monolithic, homogenous
Communities <i>initiate</i> participatory development	Community schools	Community as site of conflict, power difference
Participatory development <i>creates</i> communities	Site of contestation between different institutions	Community as discursive construct

Table 4: Relationship between community and participatory development

The three positions on the relationship between community and participatory development that I outline above (participatory development acts on communities, communities initiate participatory development, participatory development creates communities) lend themselves to epistemological

positions (theories of knowledge) and therefore have implications for research approach, as well as understanding epistemological struggles that arose during the course of the research. The first position (participatory development *acts on* communities) links to a positivist approach to research, which assumes that knowledge is independent of social context, and the researcher is an objective observer (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011a). The second position (communities initiate participatory development) links to a critical theory approach. The third position (participatory development constructs communities) links to a social constructivist view. According to the constructivist approach, knowledge is the result of negotiation between individuals, positioned and partial. This approach is appropriate for my research questions, in that I am interested in policy enactment and how individuals perceive SBMC policy and construct their knowledge and engagement in relation to SBMCs.

The fact that these three research approaches are linked to particular views of the relationship between participatory development and communities is significant, because it reflects a tension in the research design which stems from my own position, as both researcher and practitioner, as well as, perhaps, my own intellectual journey. It also reflects my interest in the ‘interpretivist turn’ in social science, that is, the ‘distinct turn of the social sciences toward more interpretive, postmodern and critical practices and theorising’ (Lincoln, Lynham and Guba, 2011, 97).

The situated researcher

Interpretivist/postmodern/post-structural approaches tend to make explicit questions of power, firstly in that the researcher is ‘situated’, in the selection of problem, research question, analysis and writing up (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011a). Secondly, in that the relationship between researcher and researched is not one way, top-down, but shifting and contingent, along with the identities of researcher and research participants.

Behind the theory, methodology and the activities that constitute research

...stands the personal biography of the researcher, who speaks from a particular class, gendered, racial, cultural, and ethnic community perspective. Every researcher speaks from within a distinct interpretive community, which configures in its special way, the multicultural, gendered nature of the research act’ (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011a, 11)

It is important therefore to articulate my perspective, but, according to the critical-constructivist position, this is not in order to remove personal bias, but in order to make explicit my position so that I can be aware of how it impacts on the research, and integrate an awareness of this into my analysis.

I am, on the one hand, a practitioner who works within the discursive regime’ of project-based development. I have worked as a teacher, adviser and researcher on community participation in education in an international development context, in a range of countries since 1994. From 2004-2006 I worked in Nigeria on the British Council-implemented Capacity for Universal Basic Education (CUBE) project, specifically on developing a community-based planning process for schools. As a practitioner I am a proponent of participatory approaches and community-based strategies, while at the same time, at certain moments and in certain contexts I have been critical of the way that I have observed the

design and implementation of community-based strategies. In particular, I am interested in the politics of aid and how they have driven the use of community and the adoption of participatory approaches. In particular this becomes a concern when such strategies are aggressively pursued by governments and donor organisations, implemented in a top-down fashion with little attention given to the ways in which schools are already embedded within communities and the ways in which communities support schools in the absence of consistent government support. Simultaneously, I have been researching community participation in education since 2006, from a critical perspective.

My dual position, as practitioner and critical researcher, is reflected in the process through which this research was conducted, in that I was simultaneously a consultant to the ESSPIN programme in 2009 on the implementation of SBMCs as well as a researcher of SBMCs. This had implications for me as a situated researcher. At times, it was difficult to dissociate myself from the concerns of the ESSPIN project with the implementation of SBMC policy in order to move into researcher mode; at others, it was difficult to set aside my critical approach to the research project and respond as a consultant to the wishes of my client. The ESSPIN project was simultaneously client and subject of the research. The research questions – with their emphasis on the situation and perceptions of key individuals – but also on material matters of social justice (gender, poverty) and a practitioner's concern with engaging with development approaches, rather than simply critiquing - reflect this range of concerns and the need for a theoretically diverse approach. The tension that I experienced in conducting this research reflects also the poststructural concern with differing discursively formed interpretations and positions, so that in this situation I was simultaneously navigating and switching between a position as a consultant and adviser concerned that SBMCs be implemented in the most inclusive way possible, while holding a view as a critical researcher that SBMCs also represent a policy technology of surveillance and control by the state.

On a practical level, gaining entry to field sites in order to conduct empirical research can be challenging (Merriam, 2009, 122). I was able to draw on both professional and personal networks in Nigeria. My initial vision had been for a small scale, micro-level study of SBMCs to be conducted in one or two schools and communities, supplemented by interviews at local, state and federal government. I had originally planned, with a local co-researcher, to conduct multiple visits to each site. I conducted a brief scoping visit to Nigeria in October 2008 with the aim of finding an institutional sponsor and a co-researcher.

Conducting field research in Nigeria is costly, however, and the politics of funding privileges certain types of enquiry (Cheek, 2011), and in this case finding funding required making changes to the methodology and scope of the enquiry. During this visit, I met representatives of ESSPIN (described in chapter 2), and subsequently submitted a research proposal to them to conduct case studies of selected SBMCs (see Appendix 1) which was accepted in early 2009.

Working under contract to ESSPIN required making substantial changes to the fieldwork design. The relationship with ESSPIN and the request to amend the study in order to meet ESSPIN needs meant that I became a manager of a research team comprising consultants and ESSPIN staff, and expanded the

scope of the research significantly to cover the five ESSPIN focus states, Kwara, Kaduna, Lagos, Jigawa and Kano. Because of the expanded scope of the research, five local researchers were hired by ESSPIN in order to collect the data (see Appendix 2). Although this did not require changes to the research question, it meant that the methodology was developed collaboratively, and it meant that I was not involved in hands-on data collection, which raised questions about the ownership of the data and how to manage this, although I did visit two of the research sites.

Given the emphasis in a reflexive piece of qualitative research to situate myself as the researcher, it is also important to touch on the biographies of the research team. Five research consultants, one for each state, were contracted for the ESSPIN research. Two were Nigerian women, two were Nigerian men and one was a British woman who had been resident in Nigeria for over thirty years. The state research consultants were all extremely experienced professional researchers and consultants. They were assigned to lead states that they knew well and where they could speak the local language. Jigawa, Kano and Kaduna are mainly Hausa-speaking states, while Lagos and Kwara are Yoruba-speaking states. The research was assisted by five ESSPIN state Access and Equity Consultants, of whom three were Nigerian men and two were Nigerian women employed by the ESSPIN project. These individuals all had very good knowledge of their particular state context. In addition, five field researchers (one per state) were recruited by ESSPIN for the duration of the research through partner organisation Save the Children, to act as research assistants to the State research consultants and ESSPIN staff. All research team members spoke excellent English and I trained them in data collection in English in February 2009 at a workshop in Kano as part of my ESSPIN consultancy. All state research teams included at least one woman, which is extremely important, particularly in the northern states of Nigeria, where it would be considered culturally inappropriate for male researchers to hold meetings and interviews with women.

On one level, there are many advantages to the field research being conducted by teams of Nigerian researchers. As a white, western woman I am aware from past experience that it is difficult to conduct research in rural areas of Nigeria because of the language barrier, but also because of assumptions about who and what I represent. As a consultant on a donor-funded project, it was frequently assumed that I had the power to make grants or provide school buildings. However this assumption also applies to the Nigerian researchers, who were not always local to the states, and although they spoke local languages, were urban and highly educated and perceived as outsiders. In addition, I was concerned that the researchers would be viewed as government representatives and that this would affect the extent to which interviewees and participants in the research would feel free to respond to their questions. It should be emphasised that my relationships with members of the research team were challenging at times. I was effectively their manager for the purposes of the research, but was not their employer; I, like them, was a consultant. The complex relationships within the ESSPIN employed research team underlines the fact that data are the product of relationships and negotiations between us as researchers, and research participants, and the different experiences, backgrounds, intentions and biographies brought to the research.

It is important to note that although the data collected during the research assignment for ESSPIN was a major source of data, it was not the only source of data for this thesis, which also draws on additional interviews, policy documents, literature, published and unpublished materials. Cambridge Education, the implementer of ESSPIN, gave permission to use the data coming out of the research for the purpose of this thesis and related publications (see Appendix 10).

Research strategies

Since research is concerned with creating new knowledge, it is essential to make explicit the theories of knowledge or epistemologies that underpin the approach of the researcher, and how they link to the research strategy that is chosen. As discussed earlier, this study draws primarily on critical and constructivist approaches. A critical theory approach has a 'transactional/subjectivist' (Lincoln, Lynham and Guba, 2011, 98) epistemology underpinning it, that is, it assumes that the knowledge created by the research is mediated by the values of the researcher, the researched and the context. A critical theory approach lends itself to 'dialogic/dialectical' methodologies (Lincoln, Lynham and Guba, 2011, 98), that is, a methodology based on the premise that what people say needs to be understood in social and historical context; the aim is to uncover social structures that are oppressive or unjust, and to produce practical, pragmatic knowledge.

A constructivist approach has a similar transactional/subjectivist epistemological position but differs from critical theory in that any knowledge created by research is understood as 'co-produced' by researcher and researched (Lincoln, Lynham and Guba, 2011, 98). According to this position, there are no objective truths to be uncovered, and research narratives are, crucially, stories. A constructivist approach lends itself to hermeneutical and dialectical methodologies, that is producing, interpreting and reconstructing understandings of the social world (Lincoln, Lynham and Guba, 2011, 98). While there are similarities between constructivist and critical approaches, the crucial tension is around the existence of a social 'reality' that can be uncovered and addressed. This study is based on a belief that there are real and material social structures to be uncovered, and that research should produce knowledge that can produce or influence positive social change.

In order to address the research questions, multiple sources of data were required because of the fact that they explicitly sought to understand a range of different positions and orientations along the process of implementation of SBMC policy. The use of multiple sources of data, albeit focused on the same issues, presents challenges to the researcher, not least in terms of the quantity and quality of data, but also that it requires the researcher to move between different identities (researcher, academic, research manager). In addition, the fact that the empirical research component of this study was funded by a large donor-funded programme, implemented in partnership with the Government of Nigeria, entailed making changes and compromises to the research design, which I will address later.

Broadbrush policies, such as the introduction of SBMCs, cannot take account of the fact that each and every school, and therefore every SBMC, is situated differently. Each school and locality has a unique history, social, ethnic, cultural, linguistic and economic profile. I have emphasised in Chapter 2 the

diversity of Nigeria in all these domains. In this investigation I wanted to describe and analyse how the enactment of SBMC policy played out in a limited number of locales. Case studies therefore appeared an appropriate research design because they do not seek to be representative; rather they seek to describe and explain a particular situation (Yin, 2003).

And yet, despite the unique nature of each site, I wanted also to link them to the local, regional, state, national and international processes of which they are part. These case studies could be termed vertical case studies, that is, ‘a multi-sited, qualitative case study that traces the linkages among local, national and international forces and institutions that shape and are shaped by education in a particular locale’ (Bartlett and Vavrus, 2010, 11-12). This requires a confrontation of the problem of researching sites where ‘global aspirations are being negotiated in local settings’ (Unterhalter *et al.*, 2011). This vertical focus requires also a consideration of what Unterhalter *et al.* (2011) term the horizontal relationships in a particular locale, the particular relations of exclusion and inclusion that exist. In practice, this relates to an acknowledgement of the fact that the introduction of SBMCs into a particular locale is not just influenced by the particular relations at that locale, but that it also relates to relations at regional, national and international levels in ways that are related to the global political and development regimes. This study attempts to contribute to the literature on how global and local policy and discourse on community and development interact, as well as elucidating the strategies and agency of policy actors in the process of enactment.

For the purposes of this research, two case study schools were selected in each of the ESSPIN focus states (Jigawa, Kano, Kaduna, Kwara and Lagos). Selection of case studies was purposive, according to the following criteria:

- Six cases where there has been intervention in relation to SBMCs, through GEP, SESP, or COMPASS.
- Four cases where there has been no intervention,
- A mixture of urban, rural and peri-urban locations

We did not necessarily seek those cases where SBMCs are seen to be performing exceptionally well, or exceptionally poorly (what Gerring (2006) refers to as ‘extreme’ cases). In addition, we sought to avoid model or central primary schools, which tend to be better resourced and therefore less typical, although in practice our sample did include one central primary school and one model primary school.

School selection was led by ESSPIN state access and equity consultants. In practice, school selection was conducted according to the framework with a number of exceptions, as shown in Table 5 below:

	Type	Location	Interventions	Size L >1000; M 300-1000; S <300	SBMC status - not formed; * formed not functional; ** formed and functional
Waje	Urban	Central Kano	Model school	L	*

Kumbotso	Urban	Kano outskirts	None	L	*
Kachia	Peri –urban	Former army rehabilitation camp in Kachia town	None	M	-
Zaria	Rural	Small village	SESP	S	**
Adabata	Urban	Ilorin	SESP	M	**
Borgu	Peri-urban	Edge of small, isolated town (LGA HQ)	None	M	*
Miga	Rural	Village	Community Islamiyya School	S	-
Maigateri	Rural	Village	GEP 1	S	**
Alimosho	Urban	New settlement	None	M	*
Akowonjo	Urban	Slum area	COMPASS	M	*

Table 5: Overview of case study school characteristics

Sample schools were chosen according to a list of criteria agreed in advance to ensure a balance of urban, rural, peri-urban, SESP, GEP and schools without project interventions. The responsibility for selection of sample schools was given to ESSPIN Access and Equity consultants because of their access to State and Local Government lists and officials; however in some cases criteria were not followed; in others State Team Leaders and State Research consultants changed the selection. In Kano, two urban schools were chosen, instead of one urban and one peri-urban, neither one a SESP school. In Jigawa, the ESSPIN State Team Leader requested the inclusion of an Islamiyya school in the sample because of particular interests in working with Islamiyya schools in future, so an Islamiyya school was selected in place of a GEP phase 2 school. In both Kwara and Kaduna, the state research consultants changed the selection initially made by the ESSPIN Access and Equity consultant. The implications of this selection process are an over-emphasis on urban and peri-urban schools, one community Islamiyya school (not envisaged in the original criteria) and only one GEP school. This reduces the opportunity, for example, to observe different combinations, for example the effect of GEP intervention, in an urban or peri-urban location.

Research tools

A key set of issues underpinning this study concerns power, conflict and change. These issues derive from a set of influences including firstly the assumption that understanding power dynamics within key institutions (including SBMCs and schools) is important. That is, it is important to consider questions of who holds the power within those institutions, who makes the decisions, whether there is conflict and if so how it is dealt with, and how those institutions develop and change as a result. The research methodology used for this study is therefore strongly influenced by participatory research with its emphasis on group discussion and construction of knowledge (Pretty *et al.*, 1995), while also bearing in

mind shortcomings of this approach associated with the possibility of ‘groupthink’ and elite capture (Matsaert, 2002, discussed in Chapter 3).

The development of the research tools was led by me, in consultation with ESSPIN staff members and the research teams, in the following way. Prior to the first visit I developed draft research tools. During the first visit I worked with the five research consultants to develop the research tools, to pilot the tools and to train the field teams. I then finalised the research tools. The research tools were drafted by me initially, and then field tested and further developed with the research teams at a workshop in Kano in February 2009 (see Appendix 3 for report and programme).

The tools and timetable appear in Table 6 below, and full research tools appear in Appendix 4:

	Tool	Purpose
	Tool 1: Semi-structured interview with State official Tool 2: Semi-structured interview with LGEA official	
Day 1	Tool 3: School profile Tool 4a: Transect walk Tool 4b: Social resource mapping	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To gather key information about the school and community • to identify key individual and institutional stakeholders at community level • to set up meetings and interviews for the fieldwork period
Day 2	Tool 5a: SBMC Chair interview Tool 5b: Headteacher interview Tool 5c: Female teacher interview (NOT an SBMC member if possible) Tool 5d: Community leader Tool 5e: Women’s group leader	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To explore research themes with key individuals
Day 3	Tool 6: SBMC group meeting Tool 7: Student activity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To explore research themes with SBMC and students
Day 4	Tool 8: FGD/venn diagram activity with parents: one men’s group, one women’s group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To explore research themes with parents
Day 5	Tool 9: Group feedback meeting	

The use of a range of different tools is typical of qualitative research, and chimes with the ‘bricoleur’ model of research (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011a).

Struggles over epistemology occurred primarily at the design stage, with ESSPIN staff, and with research consultants and researchers throughout the design and analysis process. By way of example, there were long debates on whether the methodology should have a broad, more open-ended, exploratory focus, rather than simply evaluating whether SBMCs were set up as stipulated in the government guidelines. This reflects a view of research as evaluation where, faced with the external pressure to demonstrate

results, development organizations have to prove the value of their initiatives to legitimize their work (Iverson, 2003; 7). In this view, the success of the programme can be proved by evaluating it against internal guidelines, which, despite circularity, avoids critique of the guidelines and of the project itself. The guidelines themselves are accepted and not questioned; the 'discursive regime' of the project remains intact (Mosse, 2005). Finally, I argued successfully that it would be more useful for the project to adopt a more open-ended approach. The following sections describe the research tools in detail.

Semi-structured interviews

Interviews are particularly appropriate for gathering information on 'people's opinions, feelings, emotions and experiences' (Denscombe, 2007). In semi-structured interviews (SSIs), the interviewer is guided by a checklist, rather than a list of questions in a fixed order. This allows the interviewee 'to develop ideas and to speak more widely on the issues raised by the researcher' (Denscombe, 2007, 176). In this case, then, where research questions focused on understanding perceptions of a policy initiative, SSIs were particularly appropriate. Tools 1 and 2 are semi structured interviews at state and LGEA level. Tools 5a-5e are semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders at community level, including SBMC Chair, Headteacher, female teacher, community leader, and women's group leader. The researchers wrote down responses in the research booklet. However, according to the research methodology outlined above, interviews must also be understood as a key site for the construction of knowledge (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009, 18). Interviews 'rest on the practical skills and the personal judgements of the interviewer' (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009, 17), with methodological decisions made on the spot.

In practice, conducting interviews with and through a research team proved to be challenging. For example at one school, I observed researchers in action, and made the following observation in my field notes:

When I arrived, Kemi was interviewing the secretary of the Emir's council. He seemed quite constrained and claimed to have nothing to do with the school because of politics. Then SBMC meeting FGD. A lot more women there – teachers of the school who are v. agitated about their conditions. Awful manner by Kemi & Gloria & I had to intervene to stop them lecturing (field notes, 25th March 2009).

The extract refers to Kemi and Gloria, who were the State Research Consultant and Access and Equity consultant respectively. What I judged to be an 'awful manner' may have been, from the perspective of the researchers employed by the project, a culturally expected and appropriate manner of interaction; in any case it illustrates the challenges of managing different orientations to research within the team, and I will describe in more detail below what happened in this process and how I addressed such differences.

School profile

In a case study, basic information about each case must be collected, so that the case can be contextualised, that is discussed and explained in relation to its own unique characteristics. Tool 3 is a checklist of basic information about each case study school. The information was recorded in the research booklet by the researchers.

Focus group discussions

A Focus Group Discussion is a group interview in which the interviewer facilitates a discussion on a particular issue or topic (Denscombe, 2007, 178). Group interviews allow the researcher to increase dramatically the number and range of participants, and therefore the views heard, in the research process (Denscombe, 2007, 177). In addition, the group dynamic produces a different type of data, where interactions between group members are fundamentally different to one-to-one interviews, in that participants can agree with or challenge one another (Denscombe, 2007, 178), facilitated by the interviewer. In addition, I would argue, the group interview/focus group discussion model is particularly suited to situations where there is a great social difference between interviewer and participants, because it makes them feel more at ease to be in a group. In this case, focus group discussions and group exercises were used both to elicit a wide range of opinions but also to make SBMC members and groups of mothers and fathers feel at ease. Tool 6 is a Focus Group Discussion for use with as many SBMC members as possible. Responses were recorded by the researchers in the research booklet.

PRA exercises

Participatory research 'combines theory and practice in cycles of action and reflection that are aimed toward solving concrete community problems while deepening understanding of the broader social, economic and political forces that shape these issues' (Brydon-Miller *et al.*, 2011, 387). To this end, participatory approaches often use visual or collaborative efforts that enable and encourage the participation of individuals who lack literacy, voice or confidence. In this study, for example, Tool 8 is a participatory venn diagram activity, which involved mapping out and discussing the relationships between key organisations involved with the school, conducted once with mothers and once with a group of fathers of students at the school. Tool 9 is the feedback meeting. Tool 4a, the transect walk, is designed to familiarise the team with the surrounding area, and to collect basic information. The social mapping exercise enabled researchers to identify different groups within the community. It is a visual participatory activity with a mixed community group to discuss key social and educational issues of concern to the community. The purpose was to make the discussion accessible to non-literate and less vocal individuals. Responses were recorded by the researchers in the research booklet.

Feedback meeting

A key principle of participatory research is to work collaboratively so to empower participants as much as possible during the course of the research, by questioning and challenging the researcher/researched divide and the power relationship implicit. In such an approach, 'participants may help design questions, collect data, analyze information, or reap the rewards of the research' (Cresswell, 2009, 9). From another angle or research tradition, this is known as respondent validation (Maxwell, 2012, 126), and is seen as a way of ensuring the validity of findings. During the research process, a feedback meeting was scheduled at which researchers shared findings at a community meeting and invited feedback and questions, which gave participants the opportunity to respond to preliminary findings and to ask questions.

Feedback meetings in different sites took different forms, and can be seen as on a spectrum between serving as validating the research findings, to involving participants in discussions about findings, to situations where power relationships at community level were actively challenged. In some cases, the feedback meeting gave participants the opportunity to question existing structures and institutions. Responses were recorded by the researchers in the research booklet and reveal a range of negotiations. At Alimosho, for example, some participants said that they wanted the PTA back (Hughes, 2009, 31). At Borgu, '[m]ost of the teachers present took the opportunity to further lament their predicament of lack of motivation and low remuneration' (Onibon, 2009, 24). At Zaria, women openly challenged their exclusion from the SBMC and broader community processes, as noted in the Kaduna research report:

Women are very eager to participate in educational development activities by showing interest to form a CBO and to attend adult education class. The women collectively made a request of this at the feedback meeting and the chief granted their request. (presently the women are in the process of forming their CBO immediately after the research teams visit) (Akuto, 2009).

In this case, the women used the presence of the researchers to validate and witness their request to start a women's organisation in the village.

Feedback sessions also were a part of, and fed into, political debates. For example at Borgu,

...the Special Adviser to the Governor on Kaiama Affairs expressed his gratitude for the study and the feedback session particularly. He promised to relay the outcome to the Governor's office. The Deputy Education Secretary said he had noted the findings and was going to act with his team and boss to ensure SBMCs in area councils work according to the given guidelines. He also lamented on the lack of funds to take this process through effectively (Onibon, 2009, 24).

In this case the Education Secretary is openly challenging the governor & state officials on the lack of funding.

In one case the feedback meeting shed a light on conflict between headteacher and members of the community:

The head teacher did not agree with the views of some stakeholders particularly on the issue of communication, she also felt that the SBMC in her school has done so much. This turned into heated discussion, which was addressed promptly. All participants were further informed about SBMC and its guidelines, they were all urged to work together for the development of the school (Onibon, 2009, 44-45).

Feedback sessions were also opportunities to share information about the SBMC and ESSPIN programme, for example at Alimosho, members of the Youth Forum felt that they should be represented on the SBMC, and were invited to participate at the feedback meeting and given information on ESSPIN (Hughes, 2009).

Documents

A combination of interview, observation and documentary data is a way of approaching a phenomenon in a holistic fashion (Merriam, 2009, 136) This research used a range of different documents, as follows:

- Field notes produced by researchers. The researchers used the research guideline to record their findings, so that the product of each case study local was a booklet with handwritten notes (see Appendix 5 for example).
- Reports produced by researchers and I for ESSPIN (see Appendices 6 and 7)
- Policy documents, reports, records of meetings, evaluations, personal communications, both publicly available and 'grey' literature from government, NGOs and projects
- My own field notes and observations. These were recorded in a notebook and cover my visits to two research sites in March 2009 (see Appendix 8 for an extract).

Commentators recommend the need for a systematic and structured approach to gathering documents. Because this research was based on a long process of working on school based management in Nigeria (roughly the period 2005-2012) as a consultant and researcher, the process of collection documents was organic, initially, rather than systematic. My document search was focused on documents relating to community participation in education in policy and practice in Nigeria and elsewhere. Documents were sourced from contacts during a series of visits to Nigeria over the period. In addition, documents were sourced on the internet, for example through the ESSPIN website ¹¹ (DFID, 2007a; DFID, 2007b; Johnson, 2008; Thomas, 2011; Williams, 2009). Official policy documents focusing on education and broader development policy in Nigeria were sourced primarily from the libraries of the Institute of Education and the Institute of Commonwealth Studies in London.

In critical research, documents are not just read at face value: rather they should be read critically, that is, to question their authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning (Denscombe, 2007, 232-233). This is consistent with a critical approach to research, which views documents (as other data sources) as constructions, reflecting and actively constructing key discourses.

For Ball, policies are both texts and discourses and it is necessary to differentiate between them, while acknowledging that they are linked (Ball, 2006). According to Taylor (2004), Ball's approach reduces policy analysis to a struggle over meaning, while policies are seen as the outcomes of these struggles. While this is useful, she suggests, in terms of illustrating a 'politics of discourse' and exploring policy texts and their historical, political, social and cultural contexts (Taylor, 2004, 435), it does not go far enough in terms of 'fine-grained linguistic analysis' (Taylor, 2004, 435). As outlined by Taylor, critical discourse analysis (CDA) aims to combine textual and contextual analysis of discourses. It '...aims to explore the relationships between discursive practices, events, and texts; and wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes (Taylor, 2004, 435)'. She suggests that CDA is particularly appropriate for the analysis of policy texts in education for two reasons. Firstly, in that it illuminates the link between language and other social process, and 'how language works within power relations... CDA provides a framework for a systematic analysis - researchers can go beyond speculation and demonstrate how policy texts work' (Taylor, 2004, 436). Secondly, it is valuable because it is explicitly

¹¹ www.esspin.org

critical in its concern to reveal 'the discursive construction of power relations; and secondly, in its commitment to progressive social change' (Taylor, 2004, 436).

In practice, this meant that in reading documents for example, I conducted a number of readings, looking in turn at the face value, then a deeper critical reading, and then a discourse analysis of texts, for example around community, and how they appear in each text.

Collecting data

What is considered to be data, and how it is collected, is determined by the researcher's theoretical orientation (Merriam, 2009, 86). Qualitative researchers 'turn the world into a series of representations', such as interview transcripts, field notes, photographs, drawings and maps. Crucially, each source of data and interpretive practice makes the world visible in a different way (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011a, 4). Thus, '[t]he combination of multiple methodological practices, empirical materials, perspectives, and observers in a single study is best understood, then, as a strategy that adds rigor, breadth complexity, richness, and depth to any inquiry' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011a, 5).

The sources of data for this study are multiple, and include primarily empirical data, including interviews and discussions with officials at Federal, State and Local government officials, as well as SBMC, school officials and community representatives; fieldwork data transcripts; synthesis and state research reports and a range of documents. A full list of data is included at Appendix 9. The data was collected over a period stretching from October 2008 up to the end of 2012, with field research conducted between February and April 2009. It should be noted that the thesis is not just based on the data collected for ESSPIN although this comprises a substantial component.

The strategy for enquiry, as discussed above, was the case study, which relies on interviewing, observing, and documentary analysis. Each of these methods has its own history, implications, advantages and disadvantages. According to the constructivist research paradigm, what these different methods have in common is that they are all considered as representations of reality, co-authored between the researcher and the researched:

The socially situated researcher creates through interaction and material practices those realities and representations that are the subject matter of inquiry. In such sites, the interpretive practices of qualitative research are implemented. These methodological practices represent different ways of generating and representing empirical materials grounded in the real world (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011b, 415).

In this case, the management, collection and interpretation involved an additional layer, in that the majority of the field data was collected not by me, but by a team of researchers employed by the ESSPIN project working under my guidance. This means that effectively, the data was a representation of a representation.

The field research was conducted in two school communities in each of the five states, by five state research teams comprised of a research consultant, an ESSPIN team member and a field researcher. I made three visits of 10 days each to Nigeria during the course of designing this study and collecting

data. The first visit (February 2009) focused on research design. During my second visit (March 2009) I visited research teams working in communities in Lagos and Kwara states. Because the research was being conducted in all five sites simultaneously, it was not possible for me to visit all the research sites. During my third visit (April 2009) I conducted an analysis workshop reflecting on data collected with the state research consultants. I subsequently wrote a report for ESSPIN analysing this data (Poulsen, 2009a). Cambridge Education (the consultancy company implementing ESSPIN) and DFID Nigeria agreed to release the original field data to me for purposes of my PhD and any other publications arising from it (see Appendix 10 for permission). I then conducted a further and deeper analysis of the data collected by the ESSPIN research teams, supplemented by in-depth documentary analysis for the purpose of the thesis.

The research teams, comprising State research consultant, ESSPIN Access and Equity consultant, and research assistant, spent five days in each school community. A wide range of informants was identified to participate because in most cases, SBMC and school leadership is male and elite dominated. Interviews and activities were designed with the school and SBMC power holders – Headteacher, SBMC chair and traditional leader (all likely to be male) – but also with women, including women’s group leaders, female teachers and mothers of children at the school, as well as representatives from different religious and cultural groups and different socio-economic backgrounds. This selection was intended to give insight into how power is exercised, knowledge created and the research ‘authored’ at all stages of the process by many individuals.

Federal level findings are based on three interviews with senior FME officials from Special Education and Education Management Divisions, all of whom are involved with SBMC policy. At state level, interviews were conducted with 12 officials (10 male, 2 female) at State level across all five project states. The officials to be interviewed were in most cases Director level with significant involvement with SBMCs.

The management of a research project always involves logistical and administrative challenges. During the fieldwork the researchers employed for the consultancy complained of poor co-ordination, poor communications, and long delays in payments. There were problems with vehicles, releasing staff and other resources, logistical support for the research teams, and the printing of research handbooks. It is likely that the frustrations experienced by the researchers had an impact on the quality of data collected, both in terms of limiting time available for collecting data and affecting researchers’ motivation. In analyzing the data collected by the research teams, I have attempted to keep these considerations in mind.

Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations are an important element in the design and implementation of research in order to avoid doing harm. Avoiding any harm to participants requires the researcher to respect the rights and dignity of participants, and to proceed with honesty and integrity (Denscombe, 2007, 141). In recent years, ethics review processes in universities have been increasingly formalised (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011a). Commentators are divided on whether this will lead to more ethical research in general

(Denscombe, 2007), or whether this ‘ethics creep’ is a form of surveillance and regulation that can ultimately detract from ethical research (Haggerty, 2004; Hammersley, 2009). As a researcher, I subscribe to a pragmatic approach advocated by, among others, Merriam (2009) and Alderson & Morrow (2011). This emphasises the fact that an ethical approach begins with the values and ethics of the researcher, and how he or she translates them into an ethical relationship between researcher and participants (Merriam, 2009, 228). The ethical review process then acts as a way to maximise the quality of research, by posing a series of questions throughout the research process that the researcher must address (Alderson and Morrow, 2011, 4). In practice university procedures required the study to go through an ethical review process, but in line with the pragmatic approach that I adopted, I will also outline additional ethical issues that were raised in the course of preparing and conducting the study, and how I addressed them.

The ethics form for the research was completed, reviewed and accepted by the Faculty Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Policy and Society at the Institute of Education, University of London, in March 2009 (see Appendix 11). The main issues that I raised in the form were:

- Protection of participants from harm
- Informed consent of participants
- The knowledge, understanding and capacity of field researchers on key ethical issues
- The question of who benefits from the research
- Avoidance of misrepresentation
- Safety of the researchers in the field

The need to protect informants from harm is a fundamental ethical principle (Denscombe, 2007, 141). In this case, rather than direct physical or psychological harm, the key concern was that participants should not suffer harm as a result of the publication of information collected during the research. This was particularly relevant in Nigeria, where the politics and culture of patronage mean that elders, chiefs and government officials wield great power. Poor people could put themselves at risk of censure if they were known to be talking about local services and governance structures in a critical fashion. Taking Borgu School as an example, if the chief’s representative was critical of the school, and we were to publish his words in the study, he could face difficulties or reprisals. In order to ensure the confidentiality of information, the names of individuals and locations were changed, but it is also important to ensure that individuals cannot be identified through the disclosure of other contextual details (Denscombe, 2007, 143). This required a careful reading of the thesis and anonymisation of the data when transcribed to ensure that individuals are not identifiable.

The premise of informed consent is as follows:

People should never be forced or coerced into helping with research. Their participation must always be voluntary, and they must have sufficient information about the research to arrive at a reasoned judgement about whether or not they want to participate (Denscombe, 2007, 145).

In most cases, and according to most research guidelines, there is a need to get written consent from participants; however it is generally acknowledged that this is not always feasible (Denscombe, 2007, 145). In this case, participants were fully informed about the research, and how their contributions would be used, and their right to withdraw at any time. An information leaflet was prepared which was given to all participants or presented verbally at school and community level, where some participants were illiterate (see Appendix 11). The field researchers sought written consent, where possible, which in practice meant in interviews with government and school officials, which were usually conducted in a room, one-to-one, with a literate respondent (see Appendix 12). Where written consent was not possible, for example during group activities such as social mapping and focus group discussions, verbal consent was sought. The guidance given to researchers was developed with the researchers during their training in February 2009 (Appendix 3), and appears on pages 8 and 9 of the research handbook. In addition a community feedback meeting was held at the end of the research period in March 2009, at which researchers sought confirmation and feedback on their conclusions, thus giving participants the opportunity to correct and clarify issues with the researchers.

In terms of ensuring that field researchers had the knowledge, understanding and capacity to conduct their work according to the required ethical standard, one of the key challenges concerned translating guidelines across cultural boundaries; as Alderson & Morrow put it, it is important 'to avoid implying that we in the UK can simply export and impose our own ideas about research ethics into any other country' (Alderson and Morrow, 2011, 3), since ethical codes are situated and the product of a particular place, time and value system. In this case, the approach I took was to train the field researchers in ethical issues, during a training and piloting workshop held in Kano from 15-24th February 2009 (see Appendix 12 for outline). A reminder of ethical issues was included in the research manual (see Appendix 4). In addition, all researchers were contracted by Save the Children, and as part of the contracting process, the researchers were required to comply with Save the Children's child safeguarding policy (see Appendix 13). On reflection, the field researchers' reactions led me to believe that they saw discussions of ethics as something externally imposed that did not have real relevance to them; however, no specific breaches of the ethical guidelines came to light during analysis.

The question of who benefits from the research is a complex one, tainted by the inglorious history of extractive social research in colonial and post-colonial contexts, infused with issues of race, gender, culture and power (Smith, 1999). In addition, development discourse tends to be silent on questions of race, despite the fact that 'authority, expertise and knowledge become racially symbolized' (Kothari, 2006, 1). In this case, the politics of gender, race and culture played out in a number of ways during the course of the research. Firstly, as is common practice in international development projects, international expertise is valued over local expertise. This plays out in financial as well as hierarchical structures. In ESSPIN I was paid at a higher 'international' rate while state research consultants and field researchers were paid at local rates. This international/local divide is inherently problematic as it promotes the idea of 'international' (usually white) consultants as being inherently superior to 'national' (usually black) consultants and researchers. Secondly, I stood to benefit more from this research than

my Nigerian colleagues both financially and professionally, in that it should, eventually, contribute to a PhD degree. In practice, I tried to reflect on and challenge these relationships in small ways during the course of the research, although the reality of limited time and pressure of work meant that such opportunities were limited. By way of example, I was open and transparent about what I stood to gain from the research, I actively sought researchers' input, and actively sought ways to support their professional development, for example by writing references, proposing conference attendance, proposing a co-authored paper with one colleague, and sharing training and development opportunities.

The avoidance of misrepresentation is focused particularly on fair and balanced analysis of findings (Denscombe, 2007, 144). I will address this issue in the section on analysis below. Finally, the safety of researchers in the field was addressed by the fact that the research was conducted under the auspices of a donor-funded project with robust security and safety protocols and procedures.

The challenge of analysis

Analysis has been described as 'a process of taking things apart and putting them together again' (Laws, 2003). Analysis in this case was extremely challenging and occurred in five main phases. Firstly, a preliminary analysis of the ESSPIN data was undertaken on an on-going basis by research teams. This was discussed during the planning workshop, and built into the research process in two ways. At the end of every interview, there is a section for researchers as follows:

Note your comments below on:

- *Whether anyone else was present*
- *Quality of the interview*
- *Reflections*
- *Areas for further questioning (Poulsen, 2009b)*

In some cases this worked well and researchers noted down interesting and relevant issues, however, they were not always filled in.

Secondly, a section on recording, reporting and preliminary analysis was included in the manual, after discussion and development during the planning workshop. This included a reporting format (annex 3 in the manual) and the following suggestions:

- *For each case, put up a flip chart paper for each element of the reporting format (see Annex 3)*
- *Go through your interview notes and highlight each place where that element arises*
- *Write a note on the flip chart summarising the finding, taking care to reference the source (the source could be a direct quote, reported speech, observation, reflection or other data)*
- *When you have gone through all your notes in this way, observe and discuss themes and issues that are arising for each point, including any contradictions or gaps. (Poulsen, 2009b, 11-12)*

This approach represents a structured approach to analysis. This was in response to requests for guidance from researchers. It also represents one of the points where fundamentally different ideas about research came out and had to be addressed.

A third stage of analysis was conducted in a week-long analysis workshop from 13th – 18th April 2009, led by me, for the state research consultants (see Appendix 14 for workshop report and programme). During this workshop, each consultant presented to the group findings from their state, LGA and community level research. The purpose of this was to introduce the research locales to me, and to each other. The presentations were extremely variable, which reflected the variable quality of the data written up in the research guidelines. One researcher, for example, came to the meeting with painstakingly prepared presentation with interesting and thoughtful points throughout. Another researcher was preparing a hasty presentation on post-it notes during the coffee break.

Next, the group noted down on cards the issues and themes that arose. After all the presentations were complete, the group sorted the cards into categories. Key questions that were posed to them were:

- What are the key patterns and trends within the data?
- Are different people telling us the same thing?
- Are there clear patterns of difference – e.g. do men tell us one thing and women another?
- What is missing, that you might have expected to find? What is not being said?
- What data fits the pattern? What are the exceptions?
- What are possible explanations for the patterns?

The purpose of this phase was to attempt to ‘ground’ the data, that is, ‘that the analysis of the data and the conclusions drawn from the research should be firmly rooted in the data’ (Denscombe, 2007, 287). The group then developed statements related to the categories which were in the case study reports by analysing to what extent the cases support or contradict the statements, in order to avoid the pitfall of generalising from the case studies. This proved to be an effective strategy for grounding the discussions, since it was easy to check that researchers were applying the statements to specific cases. Following the workshop, the researchers and I presented key findings to the ESSPIN team, and finally, the state researchers produced state reports (Akuto, 2009; Bawa, Ahmad and Abdullahi, 2009; Hughes, 2009; Musa, Nashabaru and Awwalu, 2009; Onibon, 2009),

This then led to a fourth phase of analysis, where I read and analysed the state research report and produced a synthesis report for ESSPIN in July 2009 (Poulsen, 2009a). The analysis in this case was very much focused on drawing lessons from the research that could inform implementation of ESSPIN. This report focused on reporting the findings of the research and drawing out implications for ESSPIN strategy. For example, it emphasised the lack of clarity about what kind of institution the SBMC should be, and the reason for its existence, the lack of funding for schools and SBMCs, and the confusion over roles, relationships, communication and management of SBMCs. It makes recommendations, including the need to review SBMC guidelines, the fact that making SBMCs more inclusive requires investment, that work at grassroots level is required to develop people’s knowledge about their rights in relation to education, and their skills to enable them to work through the SBMC to achieve them. In addition, it

recommended that ESSPIN continue to work with the case study schools, since in some cases school and community representatives had learned and begun to take action as a result of being involved in the research, and it seemed ethically important that ESSPIN should support and continue that work.

On re-reading this report, as part of the deeper engagement with the issue for this thesis, it is clear that although those conclusions are supported by the research data collected and analyzed by the research teams, that they also reflect my own views of SBMCs as effectively dysfunctional and exclusive, as well as being firmly within the discursive regime of the project, that is, the conclusions reflect the normative concerns and objectives of ESSPIN as a development project. Although this is a deliberate stance on my part, there are two important points to make on this point. One is that although this report was written from within the discursive framework permitted by ESSPIN, at the same time the argument I made was pushing against it by proposing for example, a review of SBMC policy. I will also note that the discursive boundary of the project is comfortable, seductive and difficult to escape, as I reflected earlier in this chapter in relation to the difficulties of thinking beyond the bounds of the ESSPIN work.

There was then a fifth stage of research, for the purpose of this thesis, which involved a further and deeper analysis of original data, state reports, my own report, and key documents. My first task was a 'meticulous reading of the data' (Denscombe, 2007, 289). The process of familiarisation was lengthy, because of the volume of data and different forms that it took. This was followed by the process of coding and categorising, identifying themes and relationships (see Appendix 15 for the analysis strategy). These tasks were undertaken over a long period of time (roughly April – December 2009), at the same time as drafting the chapters of the thesis. As part of this process I continued to gather, read and analyse policy documents and other relevant published and unpublished literature, not consulted for the original ESSPIN consultancy. The process of writing helped to conceptualise and theorise, while also highlighting areas of the data that required further analysis.

The thesis, then, draws partly on the data collected for ESSPIN but also goes beyond it, both by re-analyzing it more searchingly, with greater attention to nuance and reflection on how the data was co-produced; and through supplementing the field data with policy documents and other relevant published and unpublished material, as well as my own critical reflections, in order to go beyond the discursive framework of the project. The different positions that I occupied in relation to this project both as consultant, author of a technical report, and later critical commentator and researcher, mirror once again the tensions between the critical and constructivist theoretical positions that I outlined at the start of this chapter. To come back to the *bricoleur* metaphor, I was both practitioner and academic bricoleur, wanting at the same time to make SBMCs more 'effective', to use the discourse of development, while critiquing the regime of the development project. As practitioner I sought to select the best of a limited range of possible positions and make changes, while as an academic researcher I sought to shine a light on how those positions were themselves constrained by the paradigm within which I work. This, inevitably resulted in tensions both negative and positive which had to be managed during the research process.

Validity

Adopting the interpretive/constructivist paradigm requires an acceptance that there is no objective reality to be captured. The main challenge then is to ensure the validity of observations and conclusions. A bricoleur approach requires us to look at this from a number of angles. The notion of validity is often associated with the positivist research paradigm. In the critical theory paradigm, the focus is rather on historical situatedness, the erosion of ignorance and misapprehension, and stimulus for action (Lincoln, Lynham and Guba, 2011, 99). In the constructivist paradigm, the notion of validity is replaced with ideas such as 'authenticity' and 'trustworthiness' (Lincoln, Lynham and Guba, 2011, 99).

In this study I have sought to ensure validity in a way that is somewhat contingent and resists absolute statements of validity in line with these theoretical influences. That is, I accept that I have used my judgement to interpret data and draw conclusions. However a number of checks and balances have been built into the research process to test these conclusions. These include the use of multiple methods, a focus on historical situatedness, feedback sessions at community level, and joint/collaborative analysis. I have tried to ensure authenticity by giving detailed background of the context of all data, and trustworthiness through being open about how data was collected, different options that were considered and through reflection on the limitations of the data.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have elucidated a methodological approach which draws on critical theory and a social constructivist approach. As an analytical framework, I have identified three main orientations towards community participation in education. These orientations are reflected in research strategies which emphasise the *bricoleur* approach to qualitative research and reflect the key tension in the topic: that I am working from within a participatory research and practice tradition, while critiquing it. The research process itself reflects the complexities and challenges of managing a team of researchers and seeking to work collaboratively, while maintaining a clear overall direction. I also seek to describe the challenges of moving between positions as consultant and researcher, which required an iterative approach to analysis and writing. Finally, I reflect on the challenges of conducting research in multiple locations in a developing country context, where research relationships were infused with the inequalities and discursive framings of development relationships.

In summary, the methodological approach that I outlined reflects the tension between the positions on participatory approaches that I outlined in Chapter 3: as tool of social political transformation; as policy technology; and as construction. My methodological approach, far from being outside and beyond this tension, is infused with it in that, as bricoleur, I used and borrowed from the tool-box of participatory researcher as well as that of the postmodern analyst of discourses. In the context of a development project in Nigeria, these approaches then also were cross-cut with tensions and discords around gender, race and postcolonialism. In each of the research locations, this mixture of influences and approaches plays out in very specific ways. In the next chapter I attempt therefore to elucidate the political context

in which SBMC policy was enacted by looking at relationships between federal, state and local government levels.

Chapter 5: The politics of SBMCs and the federal state

In Chapter 3 I identified three main orientations towards the relationship between communities and participatory development. Participatory development can be something that is done to communities; can be something that communities initiate themselves; or, drawing on critical policy/discourse analysis, participatory development *produces* communities. In this chapter, I will examine the data on the politics of relationships between federal, state and local government level in relation to these three orientations, through perspectives from policy, literature as well as policy actors themselves.

The relationships between the layers of government in Nigeria are complex. At federal and policy level, as has been shown, great faith has been put in the power and potential of SBMCs to ease budgetary constraints, and to solve intractable gender problems in schools. This chapter outlines the literature on the federal state in general, and Nigeria in particular, and discussions around decentralisation and service delivery. It then includes an analysis of SBMC policy before moving on to an exploration of the research data from federal and state level and what it indicates about participatory development and the production of community.

In summary, the literature illustrates how a depoliticised highly technical view of government at all levels as a site of policy implementation has been prevalent in development planning, until relatively recently. But the history of the federal state in Nigeria clearly illustrates the political nature of federal government, most notably in the ongoing struggle for power and resources (symbolic and material) between different levels of government. States have not been allowed to develop their own solutions to educational problems, rather they are required to implement a policy formulated by a federal government largely out of touch with conditions on the ground. Interview data suggests that state governments have little incentive to implement SBMC policy and therefore little interest in SBMCs. SBMC policy reflects some of the key faultlines between federal and state governments, in that the policy sets out a vision for an institution without allocating the resources or power required to effect change. The responsibilities on SBMCs are heavy, and yet their power and authority strictly limited. However, the question of how SBMCs are to be resourced is a notable silence in policy documents and interview data. SBMCs can be understood as an attempt by federal government to bypass state and local government to work directly with schools and communities – in effect, a policy of centralisation dressed up as decentralisation. The state in this case appears to view communities as objects of their policy decisions, to be dictated to rather than as partners in development.

The history and politics of the federal state

Approaches to conceptualising the state in the field of international development have changed with a renewed focus on political economy. This is in contrast to approaches that tend to view government as a neutral, if not benevolent '*deus ex machina*, disembodied from its social, historical and political contexts' (Adam and Dercon, 2009, 175). This approach emphasises 'the design of optimal policy interventions in the presence of market failure by benevolent social-welfare-maximizing governments'

(Adam and Dercon, 2009, 175). In policy terms this has led to approaches to service reform that are based on an idea of the state modelled on European examples (Collier, 2009). The 'new political economy' is a reaction to a technicist and depoliticised view of the state, which seeks to combine insights from political economy, institutional economics with a focus on social processes and cultural norms (Landell-Mills, Duncan and Williams, 2007). According to Adam and Dercon (2009) it focuses on questions of 'how political choices, institutional structures, and forms of governance influence the economic choices made by governments and citizens, and how in turn these structures reflect deeper forces, such as the patterns of colonial settlement and conflicts, physical geography and natural resource endowments, the disease ecology of societies, and ethnic diversity, as well as a host of other cultural factors' (Adam and Dercon, 2009, 174). This suggests that a detailed look at the history and political economy of Nigerian federalism is necessary in order to locate the context in which education and other public sector reforms are being implemented in Nigeria.

The Federation of Nigeria is currently made up of 36 states, plus the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) of Abuja, and 774 local governments. Kincaid and Tarr (2005) in their introduction to federalism point out that federal structures vary greatly, both in terms of the extent to which they are centralised and the extent to which there is a clear division of powers between central and 'territorial' government. The '[e]ssence of federalism' however is that there are 'two constitutionally established orders of government with some genuine autonomy from each other, and the governments at each level are primarily accountable to their respective electorates' (Kincaid and Tarr, 2005, 4). According to Barkan, Gboyega et al. (2001) the balance of power between different tiers of government is still, 50 years after independence, being worked out, and this situation has profound implications for governance and service delivery in Nigeria.

At Independence in 1960 there were three regions, Northern, Western and Eastern, with a great degree of political and financial autonomy. A federal model was adopted because it seemed to offer the best way forward given the different perspectives of the three regions (Barkan, Gboyega and Stevens, 2001). In 1963 an additional region, the Mid-Western, was carved out. During the first period of military rule, in 1967, the regions were abolished and 12 states established (Metz, 1991). Since then the number of states has gradually been increasing, to nineteen in 1976, and to twenty-one in 1987. In 1991, FCT was established, and the number of states increased again to 30. The most recent change in 1996 brought the total number of states to the current number of 36.

There are competing explanations for the fragmentation of original regions and proliferation of states. According to Barkan, Gboyega et al (2001), this was a deliberate strategy by the military government to break up regional and ethnic power bases, to weaken the states. According to Ekpo (2007), however, the process has been driven by the competing demands of diverse ethnic and language groups who have lobbied for their own state in order to gain access to, and control over resources. Whatever the process, both illustrate the importance of the politics of language and ethnicity in the history of Nigerian states and federalism, and the on-going destabilising influence of military rule, both of which feed into a troubled relationship between federal and state government.

Metz (1991) traces a history of tension between state and federal government since independence, with power shifting between the two as military and civilian regimes came and went. At independence, the regions were very powerful with their own constitutions, foreign missions and revenue bases (Metz, 1991). Under military rule, state power was gradually rolled back, so that by 1990 states depended on federal government for most of their income, the federal government controlled education. This has had a lasting effect on Nigeria's political economy: as Kew and Lewis suggest '... so many years of military rule left a pattern of governance – a political culture – that retains many authoritarian strains despite the formal democratisation of state structures' (Kew and Lewis, 2007, 389).

Added to this, since the introduction of local government in 1976, states have been resisting granting power to local governments, since they have been struggling to maintain or regain their own autonomy (Metz, 1991). For example, in 1988:

...state ministries of local government, the major instrument of control, were replaced by directorates of local government in the governors' offices. All local government funds were paid directly to the local governments by the federal government rather than through the state governments. The functions and jurisdiction of local governments were streamlined, and state governments were asked to stay out of local affairs (Metz, 1991).

Once again, according to Barkan, Gboyega et al. (2001), this was a deliberate strategy by the military government to weaken the power of the states. It is therefore to be expected that there will be tension in the relationship between state and local governments, in addition to that between state and the federal level.

A further source of tension between federal and state governments is the issue of revenue control. Utomi et al (2007) in their analysis of the political economy of reform in Nigeria contend that this is a key barrier to reform. The way in which oil revenue (which makes up 80% of Nigeria's income) is divided up is at the heart of this debate. The 'derivation principle' is a constitutional requirement for the government to return 13% of revenues from a state back to that state. The oil-producing states in the Nigerian Delta produce the bulk of Nigeria's wealth, and yet remain among the least developed areas of the country (Ekpo, 2007).

The political culture of Nigeria is frequently presented as greedy and corrupt, characterised by short-termism and patronage relationships. For example, Utomi et al. note that the politicians that thrive, do so because they are able to manage patronage relationships to their advantage, rather than because they have been successful in bringing about positive development and change (Utomi, Duncan and Williams, 2007). Patronage politics is the reason for the 'abysmal' quality of many public institutions (Utomi, Duncan and Williams, 2007, 15). Finally, they suggest, the values that underpin Nigerian politics at all levels prioritise short-term gain at the expense of long term growth or benefit. The effects of this, they suggest, are multiple: 'opportunism and corruption have flourished; patronage and nepotism are considered normal; winner-takes-all political competition persists; institution-building is discouraged, as are the types of investment with longer-term payoffs' (Utomi, Duncan and Williams, 2007, 16). Collier suggests that corruption is a direct consequence of oil wealth in that it makes politicians at all levels anxious to hold on to office, and use increasingly undemocratic and even criminal means to do so, so

that elections become little more than organised gangsterism, and the whole political system is corrupted (Collier, 2007). It is difficult however to assess the evidence upon which Collier bases his analysis, as he cites one survey of 1500 people in the Delta region of Nigeria published in 2008 (Collier, 2007, 31), as well as a list of academic publications upon which the book is based (Collier, 2007, 197).

Another, more nuanced view, is that the federal state is simply out of touch with state requirements. Because states do not control resources that they produce, rather they are controlled by the centre, and allocation of funding is not made on the basis of identified needs (Ekpo, 2007). Utomi et al (2007) make the point in addition that Nigeria federal level reforms have hardly touched state level government, with some exceptions. As a result, service delivery is described as incompetent, corrupt and politicised as there is a lack of incentive for reform and limited accountability to the population (Utomi, Duncan and Williams, 2007, 34).

In Nigeria's 'skewed federalism', power is concentrated in the executive, especially president and state governors. Many policy decisions are taken personally by the president in response to lobbying from individuals and interest groups. Utomi et al (2007, 16) suggest that while this can lead to vigorous change, it does not provide a stable and predictable base for change and development; furthermore, 'weak capacity and corruption in the civil service has meant that policies are often inadequately prepared and inconsistently implemented' (Utomi, Duncan and Williams, 2007, 16).

What implications does Nigeria's unique federal structure and history have for service delivery – and in particular, education? According to the World Bank (2003), state and other 'subnational' authorities can be efficient providers and regulators of local services 'under the right institutional incentives and with clarity about who does what—and with what' (World Bank, 2003, 185). The report warns however that autonomy can also lead to diminished accountability and corruption –what is required is good design, sound management, and constant adaptation by both central and subnational authorities' (World Bank, 2003, p. 185, 185). This view appears to be based on the classic view of the decontextualised and value-free state. Under Abacha's rule in the late 1990s

At the state level, military governors ruled their realms as if they were personal fiefdoms and presided over the deterioration of every form of basic infrastructure - roads, schools, hospitals, government office buildings, water systems, and power grids... (Barkan, Gboyega and Stevens, 2001, 15)

Under military rule, some areas and populations that were linked to networks of those in power had access to services. While the new constitution in 1999 attempted to reverse the process of centralised governance and give more power to the states, according to Barkan and Gboyega (2001) it is flawed in that most state powers are shared with the federal government:

This situation has caused confusion since the return to civilian rule and led to a continuing debate over which tier of government, federal or state, is best equipped to deal with various areas of policy (e.g. secondary education) (Barkan, Gboyega and Stevens, 2001, 16).

There is, then, a continued lack of clarity over the division of power (as well as allocation of revenues) between the three tiers of government. This is particularly acute in relation to education as resources largely remain blocked at federal or state level or are used up entirely on salary expenditure.

In summary, a 'new political economy' approach emphasises government institutions that are rooted in specific histories and cultures, and this is a valuable way to look at the relationship between federal and state governments in Nigeria. The history of the Nigerian federation demonstrates how ethnic politics, military rule and patterns of resource allocation have influenced, and continue to have implications for the Nigerian state today. In addition, there is weak capacity in civil service, a political culture characterised by corruption, short-termism and patronage, and a continued lack of clarity over role of different tiers of government in decision making, accountability and resource allocation. For example, centralised control of resources leads to social policies that may be poorly targeted, if they are formulated at all. The process of policy formulation in the context of skewed and dysfunctional federalism is the focus of the next section.

Federal level – ambiguous SBMCs

The complex politics of federal – state relationships are illustrated by a close look at SBMC policy. As discussed in Chapter 2, SBMCs were introduced in Nigeria in 2007 when the current 'Guidance notes for SBMCs' were adopted by the Joint Consultative Committee on Education (JCCE). Although state representatives were involved in the process of development of the guidance notes, SBMCs were adopted as a policy at federal level, and then passed on to state governments for implementation.

One of the key debates about education policy focuses on the extent to which policies can be understood as texts or discourses and products of the social world. According to Ball, who is strongly influenced by Foucault, policies are both texts and discourses and it is necessary to differentiate between them (Ball, 2006); although text and discourse are linked. As discourse, policy exercises power through the production of truth and knowledge. Discourse is, he suggests, a useful means of understanding policy formation since

...policies are, pre-eminently, statements about practice - the way things could or should be - which rest upon, derive from, statements about the world - about the way things are. They are intended to bring about idealised solutions to diagnosed problems. Policies embody claims to speak with authority, they legitimate and initiate practices in the world, and they privilege certain visions and interests. They are power/knowledge configurations par excellence (Ball, 2006, 26).

According to this view, policies and their enactment are therefore firmly rooted within the social and political world in which they are created and by implication we can learn things about that world through the analysis of policy as discourse.

According to the Guidance Notes, although there is no clear statement of purpose, SBMCs support EFA goals of enrolment, retention and achievement in schools (Federal Ministry of Education with UNICEF, 2005, 2). The rationale is that having more of a say will increase community commitment to schools, community resources can be harnessed, women and students can have a greater say in their schools, community involvement will make them more effective and accountable and the committee will support the Headteacher (Federal Ministry of Education with UNICEF, 2005).

The Guidance Note (Federal Ministry of Education with UNICEF, 2005) specifies that PTAs are distinct from SBMCs, however there are no formal guidelines or policy statements and their role and functions are unwritten. Their membership should include all teachers and all parents of children at the school. PTAs are perceived as problematic by some commentators because the levy can be a barrier to schooling for children from poor families; they are open to corruption; and they can become politicised (TEGINT, 2011, 37).

A list of objectives of SBMCs is included in the guidance notes, as follows:

- *engender community's interest in schools in their localities with a view to their assuming ownership of their schools;*
- *provide mechanisms for more effective management at school level;*
- *provide the head-teacher with various forms of support to enhance the administration of schools;*
- *provide a platform on which the community and schools pool resources together to enrich schools management.*
- *Provide communities and LGEAs with a new mechanism through which they can demand accountability from school managers (i.e. Head-teacher);*
- *Help the school in the formulation of its mission statement and articulation of its vision.*
- *Provide a legal framework for involving all stakeholders in the planning, monitoring and evaluation of education at the school level*
- *Provide and up-date a School Development Plan on an annual and longer term basis. (Federal Ministry of Education with UNICEF, 2005, 5)*

These roles and responsibilities are at the same time all-encompassing – they must provide ‘mechanisms for more effective management’ – and minutely specific: ‘provide and up-date a school development plan’. The SBMC Guidance Notes are both ambitious and ambivalent. They are ambitious in that SBMCs have a long list of roles and responsibilities, including ‘sensitisation and mobilization’ of parents, monitoring staff, supporting the Headteacher, supporting school development planning and monitoring school facilities (Federal Ministry of Education with UNICEF, 2005, 6). These roles and responsibilities are broad and highly complex, requiring members with considerable skills and experience. The Guidance Notes are ambivalent since the SBMC constituted according to the Guidance Notes has no real power – rather its functions are to do with conducting various tasks without real decision-making power or resources.

According to the memo, SBMCs are to be made up of 17 members, as follows:

- *one member of the traditional council;*
- *two representatives of the community development body (1 male and 1 female);*
- *the school head-teacher*
- *two other teachers (1 male and 1 female);*
- *two representatives of students' body (headboy and headgirl);*
- *one representative of women's organizations;*
- *two representatives of appropriate faith-based organizations (1 male and 1 female);*

- *two representatives of the old pupils' association (1 male and 1 female);*
- *representatives of artisans/professional bodies (1 male and 1 female);*
- *two representatives of PTA (1 male and 1 female) (Federal Ministry of Education with UNICEF, 2005, 5)*

In theory, then, SBMC membership should include at least eight women or girls. According to the memo, the SBMC is to be constituted as follows: 'some members such as the PTAs, the Old Pupils' Association and the Community Development Associations would be nominated by their bodies, while others would be selected' (Federal Ministry of Education with UNICEF, 2005, 6). However, it does not explain how that selection will be done, nor by whom.

The proposed roles and responsibilities of the SBMC appear below:

- *collaborating with PTA in the sensitization and mobilization of parents on enrolment, attendance and retention of their children or wards in schools;*
- *monitoring staff with regards to attendance at school and effectiveness in curriculum delivery;*
- *supporting the head teacher in innovative leadership and effective management of schools;*
- *supporting school development planning, budgeting and utilization of resources in schools;*
- *monitoring of the school physical facilities with a view to ensuring their proper maintenance;*
- *assisting in the procurement of teaching/learning materials and resources;*
- *reporting to the LGEA on a regular basis on developments in the school;*
- *serving as medium of transmission of skills, knowledge, values and traditions of the community;*
- *assisting head teacher in treating discipline problems in the school;*
- *ensuring adequate security for human and material resources in the school;*
- *rendering annual statement of account, income and expenditure;*
- *identifying staff requirements (Federal Ministry of Education with UNICEF, 2005, 6)*

This reveals a highly complex set of roles and responsibilities, underpinned by a number of key discourses. First is the discourse of school effectiveness: the SBMC is concerned with 'effectiveness in curriculum delivery' for example. Secondly the discourses of performance management and managerialism are evident in the statements about monitoring and reporting.

Thirdly, the discourses around community evoked in this list are to some extent in tension. Communities are homogeneous, for example 'communities become more committed to their schools if they feel they have a greater say in school planning, monitoring and evaluation' (Federal Ministry of Education with UNICEF, 2005, 2) and 'community involvement helps ensure the more effective and equitable utilization of school resources' (Federal Ministry of Education with UNICEF, 2005, 2), but the mechanisms by which

this happens are not clarified. A key role of SBMC is in 'sensitisation and mobilisation' of parents; while the SBMC is also to serve as a 'medium of transmission of skills, knowledge, values and traditions of the community'. The first statement implies a vision of community members as ignorant and in need of mobilisation, which aligns closely with the view of participatory development as something that is done *to* the community. The second statement is more aligned to participatory development traditions of valuing the skills and knowledge of communities, while not questioning the concept of the unitary community. It is thus closer to the view that participatory development is initiated and driven *by* communities. These two statements are clearly in tension with each other: is the community valued as a source of knowledge, or is it to be prodded into action by the SBMC?

In addition the SBMC is to report 'to the LGEA on a regular basis' (Federal Ministry of Education with UNICEF, 2005, 6). The SBMC is therefore seen to be under the control of LGEA, which chimes with the idea that SBMCs are a technology of surveillance and control (Ball, 2008). A crucial point to make in addition is that none of the roles outlined suggest that the SBMC has any real power or control over people or resources; rather they are to do with 'monitoring', 'supporting' and 'assisting'. This relates to the key silence in the guidance notes – how are SBMCs to be resourced?

In summary, the guidance notes encapsulate some of the key tensions surrounding SBMCs. They position SBMCs as both bottom-up and top-down institutions; their legal status is unclear; and while some aspects of their functions are extraordinarily detailed, others remain sketchy. It is not surprise then, that they are understood differently, at different levels of government, as the next sections will demonstrate.

The Federal view

At Federal level, two clear discourses emerge from interviews with key officials conducted in 2009. The first sees SBMCs as a way to ease the burden, financial and otherwise, of federal government. According to official 1, who is a woman, in her 50s, and deputy director with a particular responsibility for gender, 'with SBMCs a lot of things will be easier to manage (field notes, 21st April 2009). However, this is based on the assumption that the system will function as planned, with state and LGEA governments passing funds to the school. Official 1 admits that it is difficult to get state governments to commit funds to schools: 'people don't want to change their pattern (field notes, 21st April 2009). However it is clear that even high level FME officials are in a situation of continued uncertainty in terms of ongoing funding for their programmes, or the ability to plan for future work. Official 1 says of government allocation of resources 'they say one thing and then do another' (field notes, 21st April 2009), and states that she is not sure if they will be able to continue with the programme of SBMC training. As such, Official 1 positions herself as a 'narrator', using Ball, Maguire & Braun's (2011) typology, in that she advocates for the policy. It is interesting to note however that she does this despite seeming to lack confidence in the allocation of resources and therefore the seriousness of the intentions of FME in enacting the policy. This suggests that FME is perhaps in a limited position to control its own budgets and plan its own programmes.

The second key discourse positions SBMCs as a solution to the problem of gender disparities. As Official 2, also a woman deputy director says, 'GEP brought me into SBMCs (field notes, 21st April 2009)', and, according to Official 3, 'we saw GEP working' (field notes, 21st April 2009). Official 3 suggests that GEP has shown that when women are involved in SBMCs, they send their daughters to school. This belief is reflected in the fact that FME's own programme of SBMC training has focused initially on twenty states with 'high gender disparity' (Akinsolu and Onibon, 2009), although how this was defined is not clear.

Both these discourses are essentially instrumental, in that they seek ends (lower budgets, decreased gender disparities) through the implementation of SBMCs, and could therefore be understood as being in line with the view of participatory development as something that is done to communities. However, there is also an element of the position that participatory development actively creates and shapes communities, in this case more gender equal communities; although this must be qualified by the fact that the pressure to reduce gender disparities is largely externally imposed through, among other processes, the criteria for debt reduction which was itself funding the SBMC initiative.

State level

The process by which the invited space of the SBMC was created differs from place to place. In Kaduna state, for example, the introduction of SBMCs was purely a top down, technocratic process. SBMCs were first initiated in 2008 through GEP in six communities within three LGAs in Kaduna state. In order to implement the SBMC programme in Kaduna state, the Director organised a workshop for education secretaries on SBMCs in 2008, which included disseminating the guidelines on the establishment of SBMCs (Field notes, March 2009). The Assistant Director said that he directs divisional officers to ensure SBMCs meet twice a term, and meeting reports are sent (Field notes, March 2009). He also sent guidelines to all divisions with directives to send them to schools. SBMCs were then inaugurated at school level in 2009 (Field notes, March 2009). In this he positions himself as a policy narrator or entrepreneur in that he pushes for the enactment of the policy.

In this case, state officials are not involved with SBMC policy and implementation. For example, the Kaduna researchers described what happened when they sought an interview with a SUBEB representative about SBMCs:

...at SUBEB, the director PRS granted interview with the Team in the absence of the SUBEB SBMC Desk Officer. Some of the issues were not fully responded to because the SUBEB PRS Director did not have hands on experience of SBMC again. The interviews lasted over one and half hours at the State/LGEA levels because they were conducted in their offices amidst interruptions of official duty ... In summary one would say that in many respects their views of SBMC were more theoretical than real (Akuto, 2009, 4).

The Director PRS (Planning, Research and Statistics) was clearly not well informed about SBMC policy. This could be either because the policy is not considered priority, or because it has effectively bypassed state government structures. The ambiguous position of state governments in relation to SBMCs is underlined by the fact that the Director (PRS) first heard about SBMCs in the LGEA office in around 2004 (Kaduna researcher notes, March 2009). It is interesting that his information came from local, rather than federal government, and perhaps suggests that in this case, SBMCs have been introduced without

the full involvement of state government, reflecting a common tension in the federal – state relationship (Barkan, Gboyega and Stevens, 2001; Metz, 1991).

State governments have been pressured to abolish PTA levies, a system which used to bring funds into schools, and which had the additional advantage of bringing funds into state level institutions (e.g. state level PTA). The SBMC system places responsibility for fund raising at community level, arguably removing state officials from the revenue loop, and thereby disincentivising them from taking an interest in schools. For example the Kaduna State Report describes the lack of resources available to SBMCs, now that PTA levies have been abolished in Kaduna state:

The fund allocation that comes from Federal to State and LGEA is used for teachers' salaries, overhead costs at LGEA and supply of some teaching materials to the schools (e.g. chalk, scheme of work, diaries, exercise books and exercise books). The only source of funds to SBMC is through the grant by the education sector support programme (SESP) of the State. Another source of funding for the school was the PTA levy. This has been abolished by the government in the last two years. When PTA and schools were generating money internally through levies from schools, 80% was jointly used by the Head teachers and PTA to solve priority school problems (Akuto, 2009, 3).

In this case, federal funding is almost entirely used for teachers' salaries, leaving little discretionary funding for LGEAs, and nothing for schools and SBMCs. The process of creating the space could therefore be seen as actively excluding the involvement of state authorities.

A number of different themes in relation to the role of the SBMC are discernible. Firstly, there is the idea that SBMC should primarily have a monitoring role. For example, the Director says that the most important role of SBMCs is firstly to oversee the activities of the school and see to its welfare, and secondly to monitor the school's activities and general conditions (Kaduna researchers' notes, March 2009). This links to a view of the SBMC as an 'arm' of the state, exerting disciplinary/surveillant power over the school and its activities. According to this view, the SBMC is positioned as powerful in relation to the school.

Another prominent discourse is the sensitisation discourse. For example, an Assistant Director was also interviewed (Kaduna researchers' notes, March 2009), a man in his 50s whose role in SMOE is coordinating SBMC activities and liaising with SUBEB on SBMCs. The most important role of SBMCs in his view is to 'sensitise the community on the importance of their children's education' and 'to encourage school attendance, retention for a better future for the community' (Kaduna researchers' notes, March 2009). An example of sensitisation discourse is provided by a Kaduna SBMC Chair, who sees the main roles of SBMC as sensitising the community on education development; providing security to the schools and materials, looking after the school and making sure that teachers attend school and do their jobs (Kaduna researchers' notes, March 2009). Similar perspectives were evident in other states. At Waje, the Headteacher sees the main role of the SBMC as 'advocacy for community participation to develop the school' (Kano researchers' notes, March 2009), while a female teacher sees the main role of the SBMC as being the renovation of the school, and enlightenment of the general public to be aware of the school (Kano researchers' notes, March 2009). In Lagos, Chairman Cluster 5 SBMC apparently did not see SBMC as a grassroots organisation – 'problem is that people are not well educated' (Hughes, 2009, 17).

According to this position, the community is problematised as lacking knowledge, or the right knowledge – again, bringing to mind disciplinary function of the state – and the SBMC and by extension the state is positioned as powerful. Both of these positions see participatory development as something that is done to the community.

From the state perspective, communities and community members are often viewed negatively, and this view is often articulated in relation to literacy and schooling. For example, the Director (Kaduna) is not satisfied with implementation of SBMCs because ‘most of them are not functioning’. The key challenge, according to him, is finding literate people in the community to be members of SBMCs especially women (Kaduna researchers’ notes, March 2009). This suggests a view of ‘community’ people as the problem, since they are illiterate. The Assistant Director however says that he is satisfied with implementation, ‘because schools are better aware of SBMC and community’. However, he says it is a problem that the SBMC manual is not in the local language and there is a lack of monitoring of SBMCs (Kaduna researchers’ notes, March 2009). This suggests a sense of powerlessness and failure to relate to local context that is highlighted by Ekpo (2007), as a result of a programme imposed from above. While the first interview sees community members as the problem, the second interviewee has a more nuanced understanding, recognising that members need training and incentives as well as monitoring and support, similar to the policy entrepreneur position of Ball’s analysis.

Nevertheless, there is optimism. The Kaduna Director says that SBMCs have provided chalk in schools and renovated or constructed some classrooms (Kaduna researchers’ notes, March 2009). He suggests improving SBMCs by ‘provision of funds direct to SBMCs for schools projects by all levels of government instead of using contractors who are more expensive’ (Kaduna researchers’ notes, March 2009). The Assistant Director says that SBMCs could be improved by running training workshops for members on their roles and responsibilities, and monitoring of SBMCs to ensure quality, as well as payment of allowances to members to motivate them (Kaduna researchers’ notes, March 2009). Both of their suggestions centre on increasing resource flow to SBMCs, a position which links strongly to the standard fiscal federalism discourse, which fails to take account of the politics and institutions.

In Lagos state, SBMCs are not centred on one community, or school, rather, they are arranged into clusters, which brings into question the whole idea of a community-based institution. State policy is to form cluster SBMCs which are responsible for 8-10 schools. This is because they are often not far from each other, and share fences, toilets and other facilities. The implementation of SBMC policy is particularly influenced by the two key factors. Firstly, Lagos has a highly urbanised, concentrated and literate population, with large numbers of children in large schools; secondly, the state promise of free education means that PTAs no longer collect levies.

In the Lagos context, the abolition of PTA levies has had the effect of disempowering teachers and headteachers, from the perspective of state authorities. PTA levies were abolished in 2007 by Governor Babatunde Fashola. PTA levies were controversial, because the annual levy of ₦300 was not affordable for all children, and children were driven out of school for non payment; in addition extra levies were

often charged for special projects. However, while abolition of PTA levies was popular in some quarters, it has created a number of problems. Firstly, teachers and Headteachers feel very nervous about asking for parental and community contributions. Secondly, Schools now have no source of income. Finally, the abolition of PTA levies has been understood as the abolition of PTAs (Hughes, 2009, 2-3). But according to the Lagos State Research Report,

Government provided insufficient money for day to day running of schools, so PTA assistance had become essential. SBMCs have no source of income so they cannot take over the role formerly played by PTAs (Hughes, 2009, 2-3).

So while the abolition of PTA levies has solved one set of problems, it has created a new set of problems and provided a difficult context for SBMCs to establish themselves.

State officials also reveal the influence of UNICEF in pushing the SBMC agenda. The former Director (Social Mobilisation) SUBEB in Lagos (Lagos researchers' notes, March 2009) was, from the inception of that post at the time that SBMCs were started for just over two years. He describes how as early as March 2006 UNICEF was championing the policy, and he attended a meeting with UNICEF on SBMCs (Lagos researchers' notes, March 2009). Initially, he sought support from the state government, including SUBEB, which gave ₦1000 for people to attend training workshops and people were trained in July/August 2008 and were positive about it (Lagos researchers' notes, March 2009). According to the Director, in Lagos SBMC membership is made up as follows:

- 1 *Baale*¹², community leader or *Oba*¹³
- 2 Community Based Organisation (CBO)
- 3 Women's organisations
- 4 Community Development Association (CDA)
- 5 People within school
- 6 Headteacher (secretary) (Lagos researchers' notes, March 2009)

SUBEB, he says, oversees the LGEA who do the actual constitution of the SBMC, and LGEA must be represented at meetings. In terms of how things work, SUBEB communicates with the ES and then there are social mobilisation officers in all LGAs who liaise with SBMCs (Lagos researchers' notes, March 2009). This suggests that SBMCs are in fact part of a highly centralised structure controlled and managed by the LGEA, rather than community-driven organisations. The Director himself is revealed as a policy translator, in that he drove the process of implementation through setting up training and other events – translating policy into action.

Perceptions of the impact of SBMCs, in this case, focus primarily on infrastructure changes. According to the Lagos director, SBMCs are more active in some places than others. He describes Alimosho as a functioning area (as well as Ikorodu and Ojo). Changes that he describes are that efforts have been

¹² Village head or chief (Yoruba)

¹³ King

made to prevent children having to sit on the floor, and toilets have been built (Lagos researchers' notes, March 2009). SBMCs can be improved, he suggests, by campaign, sensitisation, availability of a vehicle, development of schools (Lagos researchers' notes, March 2009). He says that SBMCs and PTAs are dominated by women, and that 80% of teachers are women in Lagos state. The fact that PTAs are forbidden to collect levies has, he says, led to some tension – while CDAs are allowed to collect money, schools are not and if a teacher is accused of collecting money, the LGEA has to investigate. People report by text or telephone (Lagos researchers' notes, March 2009).

For some, SBMCs are the latest in a long line of projects and policy initiatives, and the lack of resources available to them is seen as problematic. For example, the Lagos State PTA member is also chair of Alimosho PTA, so he has a dual role at State and school level. He is retired – he used to work in printing for one of the daily papers – but has been working with PTAs for ten years. He has experienced many initiatives that have come and gone, including LEAP. LEAP worked in three LGAs and included training for the State Executive of the State PTA. Then five years ago, COMPASS came to five LGAs, but not Alimosho. For SBMCs, he says, there is no allocation and people get fed up with them, because they have to pay their own transport and go to meetings that last five hours. The cluster opened an account, because they were told to do so by the government, but there are no funds to put in it. The Government has told the SBMC to source money from philanthropists. He says, however, that people don't know about the SBMC (Lagos researchers' notes, March 2009). In addition, although there is no further PTA levy, SBMCs are not empowered to collect money either. '[Y]ou need to collect money to solve any problem. You cannot approach teachers because they are not happy and look at you as a time waster' (Lagos researchers' notes, March 2009). SBMCs do not receive funding from the government: 'they are supposed to have meetings but what will they discuss? There is no funding from government to do anything' (Lagos researchers' notes, March 2009).

One reaction to the lack of resources of SBMCs is, effectively, to see them as a continuation of the PTA structure, and for PTA institutions to morph into SBMCs. This appears to be the case in Kano, where ten Zonal Officers who have been appointed to manage SBMC implementation, and PTA/SBMC Co-ordinators at LGEA level. According to the State Report,

SUBEB, DSM anchored the dissemination and establishment of the SBMCs through zonal workshops for the Zonal Coordinators and workshops for the PTA/SBMC Coordinators at the LGEA level. Posters have been printed and distributed at the community level while guidelines for establishing the SBMC including membership were all communicated (Bawa, Ahmad and Abdullahi, 2009, 7).

Model SBMCs have also been set up. PTA levies are still charged in Kano state, so in effect the merging of the two institutions means that SBMCs will have some income. However, the disadvantage is clearly that power structures are not changed or challenged by the introduction of a new, supposedly participatory institution.

Kano state officials describe a similar top down, technocratic approach to the introduction of SBMCs as that in Kwara. The Deputy Director (Education Services) was the person responsible for SBMC establishment in the state. He describes how he received letters from FMOE on the establishment of

SBMCs in 2007 and that he was responsible for establishing SBMCs in all schools (Kano researchers' notes, March 2009). Although he doesn't comment on how well implementation has gone, he does say that a lot of work needs to be done through 'awareness campaign' and comments that the SBMCs with SESP support and funding are making an impact (Kano researchers' notes, March 2009). His view then is that problems with SBMC function are to do with imperfect information and awareness on the ground (Kano researchers' notes, March 2009). As before, the emphasis on 'sensibilisation', reflects a perceived need to shape and mould communities which suggests that from state level, the intention is to control as well as shape community level institutions. It also reflects the disempowerment and disconnection of key policy actors within the enactment process – that is, actors who should be translating policy into action are in fact positioned as more as policy 'receivers', according to Ball, Maguire & Braun's (2011) formulation, that is, coping with the policy.

In Lagos, the SBMC is emphatically not seen as a community initiative: 'it's a government baby' (Lagos researchers' notes, March 2009). If there is any money, it is a problem to allocate it between the schools within the cluster. For example, 'Ikotun and Ijegan and Isheri have no fence. Isheri Osun has no better classroom' (Lagos researchers' notes, March 2009). He says that money almost caused a rift between the SBMC and Self Help project, which started from SUBEB (Lagos researchers' notes, March 2009). The government awarded grants to five schools in different clusters in Alimosho, including two from cluster four. People thought the money was for the cluster, but it wasn't, it was for individual schools through Self Help (Lagos researchers' notes, March 2009).

These two perspectives on SBMCs in Lagos are quite different: the Director gives a reassuring description of the SBMC system which, although it might be quite different in reality, at least reveals how at state level SBMCs are seen as an instrument of the state and an extension of state power. To some extent Lagos state has made SBMC policy its own by ignoring the federal guidelines and forming cluster-based SBMCs to suit its own particular circumstances. Any problems, according to the Director, are down to a lack of understanding or knowledge among local people, therefore 'sensitisation' is the answer. The state PTA chair's perspective is very different and may be influenced by the fact that he is a PTA official, and PTAs are in tension with SBMCs. He points out the reality of cluster-based SBMCs, expresses his frustration with state systems, and suggests that unless SBMCs have money, they won't be able to do anything.

In Jigawa state, the approach to introducing SBMCs was seemingly higher profile and more consultative than in the other states that we have considered. The first SBMCs were introduced through GEP in 2005 in six LGAs, including Maigateri (Musa, Nashabaru and Awwalu, 2009, 6). In January 2007 a State Steering Committee of School Based Management Committee was created at SUBEB (Musa, Nashabaru and Awwalu, 2009, 6). In August 2008, SBMCs were officially inaugurated throughout the state. In order to implement the policy, the state organised a four day 'training of trainers' workshop in March 2009, attended by the SUBEB Chairman, desk officers and 15 participants drawn from head teachers, women's organizations, community and religious leaders (Musa, Nashabaru and Awwalu, 2009, 7), but it is not clear whether or how this was stepped down.

A Jigawa SUBEB document on the rationale for introducing SBMCs reveals some of the competing strands of thinking around SBMCs that are evident in Jigawa:

- *that the poor quality of education delivery cannot be addressed by Government alone;*
- *to sensitize, mobilize for the effective change of nonchalant attitude of our people toward better delivery of education in our State and the nation in general;*
- *to implement policy states as directed by Madam Minister of Education to establish SBMC in all public schools before 30th March, 2007 (Jigawa SUBEB, 2007).*

Firstly, one narrative is that the government cannot or will not take sole responsibility for failures of the education system and that SBMCs provide an opportunity for sharing that burden; and secondly that there is a need to 'sensitize' people, usually defined as parents or community members. This seems to be based on an assumption that the problem is one of ignorance of key messages, rather than a dysfunctional system.

In Jigawa, as in all the states, state officials are preoccupied with the lack of resources of SBMCs, although interviews with state officials suggest that there is a certain amount of enthusiasm for them nevertheless. The State PTA chairman thinks that the idea of SBMC originated from the state government (Jigawa researchers' notes, March 2009). He says that 'SBMC forward request for construction, renovation; he assist financially on what he can... He personally assists financially, he requests philanthropists in the LGA to assist, he forward request to government' (Jigawa researchers' notes, March 2009). Interestingly, in that the State PTA chair attempts to help personally, or use his networks to do so, this suggests a continuation of older systems of patronage and the 'big man', rather than a new, community-driven initiative. But the blame is often put on a lack of knowledge at community level and a need for further 'sensitisation'. For example the executive chairman SUBEB Jigawa researchers' notes, March 2009) says that he is not satisfied with the implementation of SBMCs because '[d]ue to lack of sufficient sensitization, they are not very effective' Jigawa researchers' notes, March 2009). In addition the SUBEB chair echoes a discourse that SBMCs are necessary because 'government alone cannot do everything'.

In Jigawa, complex relationships between different levels of government are illustrated by the State Report:

As indicated by the State and LGEA officials on accountability, the State is accountable to the people and Federal government, LGEA is accountable to the State. SBMC is accountable the State because they are initiated by the State. SBMC is also accountable to the community because the school is owned by the community. SUBEB is accountable to Ministry of Education and UBEC, LGEA is accountable to SUBEB (Musa, Nashabaru and Awwalu, 2009, 13).

This indicates a number of things. Firstly the confusion of 2 bodies at state level (MoE and SUBEB); the fact that SUBEB is an arm of a federal body (UBEC) and that LGEA is seen as accountable to both rather than a level of government with its own power and authority.

Conclusions

The political tradition in Nigeria, a number of analysts conclude, is elitist, greedy and opaque (Collier, 2007; Utomi, Duncan and Williams, 2007). SBMCs as originally conceived are the very opposite: participatory, equitable and transparent and are therefore completely at odds with current political practices. The political cliques at all levels have much to lose with the introduction of SBMCs as originally intended.

There are significant tensions between federal and state level. In terms of perceptions, the data suggest that, in general, the SBMC is understood as a top down initiative, imposed by the Federal Government, although in some cases, the role and influence of the international community is also acknowledged. It seems therefore that the dominant orientation, from state level interviews, is of the SBMC as a model that is imposed on states. However it is interesting to note that very often the community is not clearly defined or articulated; nevertheless there is frequently a sense that the community is lacking in some sense, and that this is often articulated as a lack of literacy and education. The lack of literacy is then used both as a justification for the top down model, but also the model is seen as an opportunity to 'sensibilise', that is, educate, mould, and control the opinions and behaviours of communities. Interestingly, in none of the cases are SBMCs described in relation to the achievement of educational goals, or any expression of SBMC as fulfilling a democratic function, enabling people to demand their rights.

An analysis of the data based on different positions of key policy actors, drawing on Ball, Maguire & Braun (2011), reinforces the impression that at state level, policy actors perceive themselves to be disempowered, and positioned more as 'receivers' of policy than as transactors and translators. There are exceptions to this observation which illustrates that policy actors do have a choice in terms of how they act, and interact with policy, albeit limited in scope.

Finally, I would argue that the data shows that there is little evidence here of the 'clarity and incentives' that the World Bank (2003) suggests are necessary for effective service delivery at local level. I would also argue that the idea that clarity and incentives are enough is a mistake and that this rests on the faulty assumption that government is value-neutral and benign (Adam and Dercon, 2009; Collier, 2009). The 'skewed federation' of Nigeria is engaged in an ongoing power struggle between federal and state government and SBMCs as an institution seem to reflect the lack of clarity that exists in the political culture that produced them.

But something is missing in this analysis: as Cornwall has pointed out, 'any act of space-making is an act of power' (Cornwall, 2002, 51). While Azfar & Kahkonen's factors for good decentralisation (incentives for local officials, external mechanisms to promote accountability and efficiency) are important, their analysis is based on a view of power that is incomplete; that is, a view of power that is top-down and linear. The actual practice of decentralisation – what local government officials do, what SBMC members do, and why, does is not addressed. Key concepts such as community and participation are not questioned. The next chapter will consider how SBMC policy has been enacted in particular state contexts; that is, how the SBMC as invited space has been created.

Chapter 6: States, schools and the enactment of SBMC policy

Although in theory each SBMC member comes to the table equally able to participate, the SBMC is embedded in a particular set of social, economic and political relationships. That is, the SBMC is a *situated* participatory space. The enactment of SBMC policy therefore needs to be understood in relation to the places in which it occurs, with reference to their particular historical, social, cultural and political particularities (Cornwall, 2002). For example, in the case of Borgu school in Kwara state, the school is located in the busy market town of Kaiama. People in Kaiama belong to a range of religious and ethnic groups, including the Busonenu tribe, who are the original settlers/indigenes, as well as Hausas, Fulanis, Yorubas, Ibos, Igbiras and Nupes. There are Muslims and Christians. There is, already, a strong PTA, as well as a range of community based organisations formed along ethnic lines. The traditional leader, the Emir of Kaiama, is a powerful figure in a town which is cut off from the state capital by poor road connections. The LGA exists in a state of tension with the Emir and his administration and the school is very much the domain of Local Government Officials. It is easy to see, then, that SBMC in this concept is a space created by distant federal government and that it is not created in a vacuum. How, then, will the SBMC be viewed by members of the community? Will it be viewed as an opportunity, or a threat, by different political, ethnic and religious groups? How will local people be viewed as eligible for participation in this committee, and how will their political, ethnic and religious affiliation affect their eligibility and ability to participate? How does SBMC eligibility map on to broader concepts and definitions of community? Is the community therefore a positive and inclusive or oppressive and exclusive presence?

A participatory institution is understood as a space for participation that has been created by someone; and that the 'act of space making is an act of power' (Cornwall, 2002, 51). The space will thus be characterised by the fact that it is infused with existing relations of power; that it may be 'discursively bounded' (Cornwall, 2002, 51): that is, it may permit only limited influence by participants and may stifle dissent; while at the same time the space is open to marginalised voices and collective action. This leads us to question, first of all, how the space in question has been constructed. How do members construct themselves and how are they constructed in relation to the space? And how is the notion of community performed and created within this space?

While Chapter 2 focused on the national context in which SBMC policy was developed and adopted, this chapter situates the case studies in relation to states, each with a particular historical background, political economy, poverty and inequality, educational indicators, as well as a particular constellation of ideas of community participation in policy and practice. This chapter then explores the process by which the invited space was created, and as such seeks as far as possible to examine at state and local government level, the authorities that did the inviting, their politics and incentives. This includes an examination of selection procedures for SBMC members. Finally, this chapter considers how ideas about community appear in the process of SBMC formation. This will enable us to explore in each case, whether the SBMC as a participatory institution was community-driven; whether it was imposed on

communities by the state, or whether and in what ways the idea of the community was produced by the intervention.

Nigerian states: diversity and inequality

Nigerian states are in many cases larger than other sub-Saharan African countries and demonstrate considerable diversity; Northern and Southern states in particular usually have very different histories, majority cultures and development status. The states in this study have very considerable differences in terms of poverty, social and economic indicators, literacy rates and gender empowerment measures, as shown in Table 7 below.

Table 7: Key socio-economic indicators by state, 2008. Source: (National Bureau of Statistics, 2007; UNDP, 2009)

	HDI ¹⁴	HPI ¹⁵	GEM ¹⁶	Adult literacy rate (% over 15)			GINI ¹⁷
				Total	M	F	
Jigawa	0.376	48.4	0.055	38.7	57.8	19.6	0.4397
Kaduna	0.470	34.3	0.213	62.3	73.9	50.5	0.4226
Kano	0.447	43.0	0.092	57.5	67.0	48.0	0.4318
Kwara	0.440	33.3	0.482	55.6	67.3	43.7	0.4783
Lagos	0.621	14.5	0.357	89.4	94.1	84.4	0.6429
Nigeria	0.513	32.3	0.217	64.2	73.2	55.1	0.4882

In general, human development levels are low, poverty levels are high, gender equality measures are low, and literacy rates are low, particularly for women and girls, although Lagos is the exception across all indicators, except for gender equality. Using the Human Development Index (HDI) as an aggregate measure of social and economic development, Lagos has the highest levels of social and economic development (0.621), while Jigawa has the lowest (0.376), and Kaduna (0.470), Kwara (0.440) and Kano (0.447) are below the Nigerian average of 0.513 (UNDP, 2009, 138)¹⁸.

As well as having relatively high levels of social and economic development, Lagos has much lower levels of poverty than the other states in this study. Using the HPI, Jigawa (48.4) is the poorest state in the study, followed by Kano (43.0), then Kaduna (34.3) and Kwara (33.3) similar, then Lagos (14.5) (UNDP, 2009, 92). In terms of gender empowerment, however, according to the GEM, the lowest levels of gender empowerment are in Jigawa, followed by Kano, then Kaduna, then Lagos, then Kwara (UNDP, 2009, 162). It is interesting that Kwara has a higher GEM score than Lagos.

¹⁴ Human Development Index (HDI) based on life expectancy at birth, adult literacy rate, GER, and GDP per capita, with 0 the lowest and 1 the highest.

¹⁵ Human Poverty Index (HPI) based on probability of not surviving to 40, adult literacy rate, % of people not using an improved water source & percentage of children underweight for age. A high value indicates a high level of poverty. Low value indicates low level of poverty.

¹⁶ Gender Empowerment Measure, based on gender share of parliamentary seats, share of positions as legislators, senior officials & managers, professionals & technical positions, and earned income by gender. 0 the lowest and 1 the highest.

¹⁷ Measure of the deviation of the distribution of income (or consumption) among individuals or households within a country from a perfectly equal distribution. A value of 0 represents absolute equality, a value of 100 absolute inequality.

¹⁸ Note there is a slight discrepancy between HDI figures on pp 92 and 138 of UNDP 2009 – for which I am seeking clarification

Adult literacy is highest in Lagos (89.4%), lowest Jigawa (38.7%). This may reflect the very much longer history of expanded education access in Lagos than elsewhere in the country. Kaduna (62.3%) has higher literacy rates than Kano (57.5%) and Kwara (55.6%), but still lower than the Nigerian average (64.2%) (UNDP, 2009, 145). A number of factors may contribute to relatively high literacy rates in Lagos. Firstly, systems of colonial administration (including Western schooling) developed in the Colony of Lagos from the 1860s, much earlier than other parts of Nigeria (Falola and Heaton, 2008, 114). Secondly, Lagos as the economic and commercial engine of Nigeria has jobs which attract educated professionals and also contribute to a strong culture of literacy and education. Finally, the state government of Lagos has invested heavily in education. Male literacy rates are higher than female literacy rates everywhere, with the gender gap particularly pronounced in Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano and Kwara. Jigawa has the lowest female literacy rate in Nigeria (19.6%), apart from Borno & Yobe (UNDP, 2009, 145). Lagos literacy levels are of a different order to elsewhere in Nigeria, but there is still significant female illiteracy (55.1%) (UNDP, 2009, 145).

As well as inequalities between states, there are high levels of inequality within states, for example, in Lagos, very large numbers of people are extremely poor, while a few are very rich (UNDP, 2009). There is debate over the extent to which inequality correlates with less tangible social issues such as trust, social cohesion and social capital. While the causes and consequences of high levels of inequality are complex, they appear to be associated with health and social problems (Rowlingson, 2011). Wilkinson & Pickett (2010) in a study based on analysing correlations between data on health, income and a range of social problems in developed countries conclude that inequality is strongly correlated with social problems (Wilkinson and Pickett, 2010). In contrast, Putnam argues that community and equality are 'mutually reinforcing' (Putnam, 2001, 359). SBMC policy, is being enacted in state contexts with differing politics but also very different levels of social and economic development, gender empowerment and inequality.

Kaduna

As outlined above, Kaduna sits near to the Nigerian average on human development and poverty indicators. However, it is notable that Kaduna has a relatively low Gender Empowerment Measure (0.213) (UNDP, 2009, 162), indicating that few women are in positions of responsibility in the formal economy. Adult literacy rates (62.3%) are lower than average for Nigeria and significantly lower for women (50.5%) (UNDP, 2009, 145).

Kaduna is a large and populous state which is economically important to the federation. With a population of just over 6 million, according to 2006 figures (Kaduna State Ministry of Education, 2008), it is the third largest state by population in the federation. Kaduna has a predominantly agricultural economy, and is a major producer of maize and yams (Kaduna State Ministry of Economics and Planning, 2004). Kaduna was created by colonial authorities as an administrative centre for northern Nigeria, and while its political and administrative importance has declined since independence, it retains 'symbolic significance' (Angerbrandt, 2011, 18).

Kaduna has a history of conflict between Muslim Hausa and minority Christian groups. For example, thousands were killed following demonstrations against the introduction of Sharia law in 2000 (Angerbrandt, 2011). The population of the state is finely balanced between these groups, with Muslim groups predominating in the north, and Christian groups in the South. Christian groups complain of marginalisation by the Muslim north with respect to development funding and appointments, for example until 2011, there had never been a Christian governor of Kaduna state. This has led to demands to split the state in two (Angerbrandt, 2011).

The roots of this tension may lie in the historical marginalisation of the people of southern Kaduna. Southern Kaduna was incorporated into the Zaria emirate in the 19th century and the area was subject to slave raids by the emirates of the Sokoto Caliphate (Kazah-Toure, 1999). Under the colonial system of direct rule, people of Hausa or Fulani origin were appointed to rule over Southern Kaduna; sharia law was therefore seen by the residents of southern Kaduna as a way of extending this relationship of domination.

Kaduna state then exhibits tensions between a relatively strong economy, social and economic disparities and a number of disempowered groups, including women (as suggested by low GEM) and southern Kaduna Christian groups. A theme of disempowerment was echoed also in the process of implementation of SBMC policy as outlined in Chapter 5. While state officials were proactive in terms of dissemination of information about SBMC policy by state authorities to local government level, but top down, there was little evidence of any interest in, or greater accountability to communities.

This echoes also the view of communities presented in the Kaduna State Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (KADSEEDS), the blueprint for economic development in the state. Launched in 2004, it set out a programme to reduce poverty and promote economic growth with a stated core value of participation: '[t]his is the act or involving people in decision making, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of development programmes and projects. Participation creates a sense of belonging, thereby enhancing patriotism and loyalty to a common cause' (Kaduna State Ministry of Economics and Planning, 2004, 12). However the model of participation underpinning the plan is one which requires communities to be educated: for example in the 'information dissemination, communications and participation 'policy thrust', key activities listed are

- *Promote dialogues at State, LG and community levels.*
- *Develop community based radio programmes*
- *Effective coverage of Government activities (budget and implementation) on TV/Radio*
- *Mobilization, sensitization and creation of awareness on effective participation (Kaduna State Ministry of Economics and Planning, 2004, 16)*

KADSEEDS was superseded by KADSEEDS 2 in 2008; however this document was not publicly available at the time of writing¹⁹.

In Kaduna state, one case study school was selected in the north (Zaria) and one in the south of the state (Kachia) (see Appendix 16 for school data). Kachia school is located on the outskirts of Kachia town, Kachia LGA. Kachia is mainly agricultural town with ginger an important cash crop; it also houses military offices and facilities including a rehabilitation centre. Most local inhabitants are farmers with a few petty traders and artisans. The community is described in the 2009 Kaduna research report as ethnically and religiously mixed, with up to ten different tribal groups, mainly Adara, Jaba and Kuturmi. Women are described as 'very active participants in all social, economic and educational activities' (Akuto, 2009, 24).

An SBMC was established at this school just before the visit of the researchers in 2009. According to the 2009 state research report, the school already had an active PTA as well as support from a range of community based organisations including a petty traders group, the Army Rehabilitation centre, Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), Ja'amatul-Nasril-Islam (JNI). At Kachia School, the first and only SBMC meeting had been held 3 days before the researchers' visit in 2009 and the SBMC chair did not seem aware of his position when interviewed. It seems reasonable to assume that the establishment of the SBMC was catalysed by the researchers' visit (Akuto, 2009).

However this account is confirmed by the SBMC Chair. In an interview with researchers, he said he was first told about the SBMC by the Headteacher eight days before the interview was conducted (Field notes, 30th March 2009), that he was selected by the LGEA Desk Officer and told of his appointment by the Headteacher (Kaduna field notes, 30th March 2009). According to researchers' field notes (30th March 2009), a SBMC meeting was held on 27th March 2009, three days before the researchers' visit. At the meeting, the role of SBMCs was discussed, and officers elected (Kaduna field notes 30th March 2009). This inconsistency could be explained by the fact that the Headteacher knew that an SBMC should have been in place some time ago, even if it was only recently formed.

Zaria school, by contrast, is located in a small village in a rural area of Zaria LGA in northern Kaduna. At Zaria, according to 2009 Kaduna research report, community members are mainly peasant farmers 'who engage in cattle/sheep and goat rearing, cereal farming and dry-season farming... Tailoring, carpentry and petty trading are also popular in the community' (Akuto, 2009, 14). The inhabitants are mainly Hausa, and mainly Muslim. The Kaduna research report notes that '[e]arly marriage is very prominent in the community with consequent effect of poor school attendance by girls' (Akuto, 2009, 14).

Zaria school is supported by SESP, and the SBMC was established in March 2007 through the SESP process. While the PTA used to be powerful, since abolition of PTA levies by the Kaduna State government 2 years ago in 2007, its influence was reported to have waned.

¹⁹ All available state SEEDS documents are available for download at UNDP Nigeria: <http://www.ng.undp.org/seeds.shtml>. I have written to UNDP Nigeria to request KADSEEDS 2.

At Zaria, interviews indicated that SBMC members were selected at a community meeting, which, according to the SBMC chair, took place two years before the research, that is 2007 (Kaduna field notes, March 2009). The Headteacher first heard about the SBMC at a briefing meeting led by the LGEA Desk Officer; in addition he received a letter from the LGEA instructing him to form an SBMC; again no date was given. He received a copy of SBMC guidelines from a Director and also learned about the role and objectives of SBMC at a workshop (Kaduna field notes, March 2009). The SBMC chair elected at that meeting is a man, in his 40s, who is the village scribe (a type of civil servant). He is also the village Head. He said that the Headteacher had told him 'there is an organisation that is to be formed and there is the need for a meeting with members of the community' (Kaduna field notes, March 2009).

A meeting of about 50 community members was held at which members were appointed. The SBMC chair/village Head says that during the meeting, the village Head's name was proposed and accepted by all (Kaduna field notes, March 2009). This meeting was confirmed by the Headteacher, who said that he called the meeting on the advice of the PTA and village head (Kaduna field notes, March 2009). It is not clear how the 50 community members were invited or selected, but the State Report compiled by the researcher working in Kaduna makes the following comment regarding the community meeting:

We gathered from discussions with individuals and women that women and the pupils were not in the meeting. We also noted that the majority of the men were ignorant about the formation process of SBMC in the community, thus indicating poor participation by members (Akuto, 2009, 18).

This account suggests then that in this case, decisions on SBMC officials were made by a select group of community members, largely excluding women and children. It is interesting to note that the Headteacher called a community meeting to select SBMC members on the advice of the PTA chair and village Head; and that the village Head was elected SBMC chair. This suggests that in this village the SBMC does not have a democratising effect; rather it is grafted on to existing power structures, and that the same people retain control.

An alternative account is that the SBMC chair was selected by the Headteacher or by LGEA Desk Officer. According to interview data, the Headteacher was first told about the SBMC by the ES, through the DEO, at a meeting of all Headteachers in the LGEA in 2005 (Kaduna field notes, March 2009). He says that the former Headteacher then selected the members, based on the SBMC guidelines (Kaduna field notes, 30th March 2009).

According to Akuto, who lead the research in the state, the SBMC at Zaria school is 'functional' and funds development projects through the SESP grant: 'SBMC has fixed doors/windows, burglary proof on windows; dug a well in the school, purchased teaching aids and some text books for teachers and pupils' (Akuto, 2009, 16). However, according to the report, there is poor participation by wider community members, especially women, and 'poor information flow' from the SBMC (Akuto, 2009, 14).

In Kachia and Zaria we have two very different examples of space-making: in Kachia, the creation of the SBMC was pushed by Local Government, catalysed by the research visit. In Zaria the creation of the SBMC was catalysed by the presence of external project, and yet control is retained by the village chief

and SBMC. In neither case is there any evidence of community demand; this process thus reflects state policy where communities are to be educated and instructed, rather than listened to.

Kano

The neighbouring state of Kano has many similarities to Kaduna, but without the north/south religious split. After Lagos, Kano city is the most important commercial centre in Nigeria (UNDP, 2009, 38), with a population of 9.4 million (2006 figures) (Kano State Ministry of Education, 2008a). Like Kaduna, Kano city is the frequent flashpoint for communal, political and terrorist violence, for example in January 2012 a series of attacks on police stations and government offices left over 160 people dead (BBC, 2012). One explanation offered for the violence is that Kano, like other large cities in Nigeria, is home to an extensive community of 'poor, rootless residents' (Blench *et al.*, 2006, 34), and that economic disparities as well as ethnic and religious differences contribute to conflict with the 'host' community. However, Kano has a history of conflict that goes back well before the presence of migrant communities. In 1981, there was a popular uprising by the Maitatsine movement against the Nigerian state (Falola and Heaton, 2008, 206).

Kano emirate has a history stretching back 1000 years with a complex system of feudal traditional government with the Emir *Sarkin Kano* at its apex (Blench *et al.*, 2006). It was part of the Sokoto Caliphate, one of the most powerful pre-colonial empires, in 18th century. It was captured by the British in 1903, and made the administrative centre of northern Nigeria until independence. Kano State was created in 1967 from part of the northern region, and originally included Jigawa state which was separated off in 1997. Sharia law was introduced 2000.

The politics of the state and the Emir's court have remained intertwined since independence, despite the deposition of the Emir in 1967 (Tiffen, 2001). The emirate council continues to advise the State government on 'religious, cultural and security matters' (Blench *et al.*, 2006, 44) and helps to disseminate information to the grassroots.

As in Kaduna, significant inequalities in human development indicators are masked by a relatively high GDP, resulting from Kano's commercial and industrial activity. The Kano State Empowerment and Development strategy (K-SEEDS) was introduced in 2004 (Kano State Ministry of Economics and Planning, 2005). The main goal was to return to the path of sustainable growth in order to 'make Kano State self-sufficient in food production and an advanced society that has self pride and practices good ethical conduct in all its affairs' (Kano State Ministry of Economics and Planning, 2005, 26). It is interesting that K-SEEDS makes explicit a programme of 'societal reorientation', which requires the following values to be instilled in people:

...[t]he Fear of Allah, love for the State, truthfulness, selflessness, philanthropy, justice, moral uprightness, probity and accountability, sense of community, good neighbourliness, respect of law and order, environmental cleanliness, self-reliance, cooperative spirit, respect for leadership, proper upbringing, accommodation of differences, respect for women and commitment to youths (Kano State Ministry of Economics and Planning, 2005, 35)

What is meant by sense of community is not spelled out, although as in Kaduna a strongly conservative and top-down vision is implied, with a focus on compliance, order, moral values, 'good' behaviour and obedience to authority.

In terms of education, in 2009, primary enrolment rates were slightly below national averages, and the gender gap is relatively high. Data are inaccurate and contradictory, for example the draft Education Sector Plan points to enrolments of 1.5m children in private and state schools at Grades 1-9 while 1 million children out of school (Kano State Ministry of Education, 2008b). State EMIS on the other hand points to net enrolment of 73% (Packer, Elemeze and Shitu, 2006). According to the Education Sector Plan produced by the State Ministry of Education in 2008, Kano has a rapid projected population growth rate for 2009-, so that pressure on schools and other services is high (Kano State Ministry of Education, 2008a, 52). At the time of data collection there were insufficient school places and a high pupil:classroom ratio of 112.9 (Kano State Ministry of Education, 2008b). Many children attend Islamiya schools (Packer, Elemeze and Shitu, 2006).

The Kano Education Strategic Plan 2009-2018, adopted in 2008, focuses on six key areas: equitable access, quality of education, science, technical and vocational education and training, health, HIV/AIDS and environmental education, Islamiyya, Qur'anic and Tsangaya Education (IQTE), education planning and management (Kano State Ministry of Education, 2008b). A focus on 'encouraging community participation' (Kano State Ministry of Education, 2008b, 23) through public awareness campaigns is included, although what this means in practice is not spelled out, the planning framework seems to indicate that this refers primarily to communities building classrooms.

Kano State Ministry of Education is responsible for delivery of education services. It co-ordinates the LGEAs and SUBEB, which was established in 2005 and reformed in 2009. An institutional assessment of Kano state education sector conducted for SESP in 2006 notes that there are 44 LGEAs with limited financial and human capacity, because they are dependent on SUBEB and the LGA to release funds. For example, '[o]ffice accommodation was poor. There was a reported lack of vehicles and an absence of IT – hence a large range of handwritten and typed reports' (Packer, Elemeze and Shitu, 2006, 44). The authors note the tension between federal and state government on funding of basic education: 'stronger lines of accountability with UBEC than MoE' (Packer, Elemeze and Shitu, 2006, 38).

In Kano, the case study schools are both located in or near Kano city. Waje School is located in Fagge LGA in the centre of Kano city. According to researchers' interview with the Waje Headteacher, the majority of students come from nearby families, mothers cook and sell food, fathers are traders or civil servants. There is a mixed picture in terms of whether it is easy or not for them to pay school fees, and the female teacher revealed that a levy of ₦500 is charged (Kano field notes, March 2009). According to the Kano state research report, organisations that support school include Nagari Nakowa²⁰ Association, the Rotary Club, the Kano Forum and the Old Boys' Association; in addition a few influential local people

²⁰ 'Good to everyone' in Hausa - a community self help association

support school activities in cash or in kind (Bawa, Ahmad and Abdullahi, 2009). The PTA is active and supports the school, while parents occasionally visit to investigate or complain.

Kumbotso school is located in Kumbotso LGA in a peri-urban area on the outskirts of Kano city. This is a huge school serving a number of wards. The school is in a fenced area which also includes a secondary school and a health post. Most of the children come from low and middle income families (Bawa, Ahmad and Abdullahi, 2009). According to the interview with the Headteacher, the children who attend the school were mainly the children of civil servants and traders; some travelled a significant distance and their ability to pay the costs of schooling was mixed (Kano field notes, March 2009). The school had some support from local businesses supported the school, for example banks supplied instructional materials and containers for water (Kano Field notes, March 2009). The PTA plays an important role at Kumbotso, and has had the same chair since the establishment of the school in the 1980s. Parents interviewed by the researchers were keen for the PTA to continue in its role, which included monitoring enrolment, attendance and retention, providing first aid supplies and overseeing general school repairs and maintenance (Kano field notes, March 2009).

As outlined in Chapter 5, PTA/SBMC officers in the LGEA are charged with establishing SBMCs, so that the institutions are effectively merged. At Waje, the SBMC structure and functions appear to have been transposed onto the PTA. According to researchers' interview with the Headteacher, he first heard about the SBMC by letter from the LGEA (field notes, March 2009), and then claims to have followed the guidelines to establish the SBMC (field notes, March 2009). A female teacher (field notes, March 2009) who is in her 30s and had been a teacher at Waje for 6 years confirmed that she first heard of the SBMC when the Headteacher called a meeting and informed the teachers about its structure and membership (field notes, March 2009). However, there had only been one meeting in 2008, and the SBMC Chair (who is also the PTA chair) said he only heard about the SBMC recently in 2009. The traditional leader, however, although he has heard of the SBMC, told the researcher that he did not know anything about it (Kano field notes, March 2009). This suggests that at Waje, the SBMC is essentially a paper organisation.

At Kumbotso, just as at Kachia School in Kaduna state, it seems likely that establishment of the SBMC was initiated by the visit of the researchers. The *Magaji*, or village head, was instrumental in establishing the SBMC, although it does not appear to be functional, according to the Headteacher (field notes, March 2009). The *Magaji*, a man in his sixties, described to researchers how the Headteacher informed him about the circular to establish the SBMC, about 5 months previously, that is in October 2008 (field notes, March 2009). The Headteacher asked his advice, so he invited all the local associations, including the women's association (field notes, March 2009) to a meeting, and co-opted members. He sees his own role as 'mobilising people appropriately' (field notes, March 2009). The SBMC at Kumbotso, then, the SBMC as a space is grafted onto traditional forms of governance.

Examination of the meeting records shows that there has only been one meeting, on 30th March 2009 (a few days before the research team visit) (Kano field notes, March 2009). The SBMC chair who is male, in

his 60s, and formerly an engineer, admitted that he had only been SBMC chair for a couple of days, and first heard about the SBMC from Kumbotso's Headteacher a couple of days ago (field notes, March 2009). Other SBMC members were selected in a meeting between the community leader and his lieutenants and the school teachers (field notes, March 2009).

As in Kaduna, the act of establishing SBMCs involved the state authorities asking LGEAs to write to schools, informing them of the requirement to initiate SBMCs. This left school officials with considerable leeway to interpret, ignore or implement the command. The two case study schools demonstrate different responses: in one case, the SBMC was established according to the Headteacher's priorities, merging seamlessly with the pre-existing PTA; in the other, the village head was key figure. Thus in both cases the SBMC is constructed not to represent the community, but as an extension of existing power structures, in which any idea of transformation or community priorities articulated by a wider circle are lost.

Jigawa

Jigawa is the state in this study with the poorest socio-economic indicators. Situated north of Kano, it lies within the dry climatic zone characterised by rolling sand dunes, desert encroachment and land degradation (Eboh, 2009). Agriculture is the main economic activity, with over 80% of the population engaged in farming. The population is around 5 million (Jigawa State Ministry of Education, 2008). Jigawa state is mainly populated by Hausa – Fulani people, with some minority Kanuri speakers in certain LGAs. There are also settlers from other parts of Nigeria, particularly concentrated in the State capital, Dutse (Jigawa State Government, n.d.).

Jigawa state was separated off from Kano state in 1991 as part of Babangida's creation of new states. Babangida argued it was because of 'social justice, even development and interethnic balance', and that it was what the people wanted (Suberu, 2001, 100); but Suberu argues it was also to win legitimacy for his regime, in response to a coup attempt in 1990 and the lobbying of representatives from the Niger delta who resented the politically dominant north, and a campaign for new Igbo states. Blench suggests that the creation of Jigawa state was in fact contrary to popular demand, which was for a Hadejia state, based on Hadejia emirate, a traditional authority (Blench *et al.*, 2006). The current Jigawa state incorporates five emirates, Kazaure, Gumel, Hadejia, Ringim and Dutse.

In terms of policy, the Jigawa State Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (JIGAWA SEEDS), covered the period 2005-2007 (Jigawa State Directorate of Budget and Economic Planning, 2005). This outlines priorities for a new education policy with a strong focus on communities, including:

Improved community participation with clearly assigned roles for parents, parent-teacher associations, community education committees and other education-related NGOs and CBOs; these would include roles in administration of education, advocacies and cost-sharing in running of school (Jigawa State Directorate of Budget and Economic Planning, 2005, 57)

This reflects a vision of community participation that includes both management responsibilities as well as the requirement for communities to contribute resources to schools.

Since then a new economic and development plan has been developed, focusing on education, water and sanitation and health (Jigawa State Directorate of Budget and Economic Planning, 2009). In addition, a four-year education sector strategic plan, 2007-2010, has been prepared with assistance from UNESCO (Jigawa State Ministry of Education, 2008). In Jigawa state, the first SBMCs were introduced through GEP in 2005 in six LGAs, including Maigateri (Musa, Nashabaru and Awwalu, 2009, 6). In January 2007 a State Steering Committee of School Based Management Committee was created at SUBEB (Musa, Nashabaru and Awwalu, 2009, 6). In August 2008, SBMCs were officially inaugurated throughout the state. In order to implement the policy, the state organised a four day 'training of trainers' workshop in March 2009, attended by the SUBEB Chairman, desk officers and 15 participants drawn from head teachers, women's organizations, community and religious leaders (Musa, Nashabaru and Awwalu, 2009, 7).

A Jigawa SUBEB document on the rationale for introducing SBMCs reveals some of the competing strands of thinking around SBMCs that are evident in Jigawa:

- *that the poor quality of education delivery cannot be addressed by Government alone;*
- *to sensitize, mobilize for the effective change of nonchalant attitude of our people toward better delivery of education in our State and the nation in general;*
- *to implement policy states as directed by Madam Minister of Education to establish SBMC in all public schools before 30th March, 2007(Jigawa SUBEB, 2007).*

Firstly, that the government cannot or will not take sole responsibility for failures of the education system and that SBMCs provide an opportunity for sharing that burden; and secondly that there is a need to 'sensitize' people, usually defined as parents or community members. This seems to be based on an assumption that the problem is one of ignorance of key messages, rather than a dysfunctional system. According to ES Maigateri, the State decides SBMC membership, according to guidance note (Field notes, March 2009).

At Miga, the school was set up and is run by the Miga Development Association, a community-based organisation that has been running for more than 30 years. The Miga Development Association constructed the school, checks enrolment and attendance, pays allowances for the four teachers, and pays for transport to SUBEB. This community school has been entirely community funded through SDA member donations. Some wealthier individuals (patrons) some of whom live outside the village, provide substantial support, and their contributions are key to the school. One had given ₦100,000. According to one representative, everyone gives according to their means, even if only a little.

The situation of Miga provides an interesting counterpoint, because it is a community based Islamiya school with very limited government support. The structure of the Miga Development Association reflects the social and political structures of the community.

The Miga Development Association is highly structured, well organized by virtue of the composition of its members with clearly defined positions and responsibilities. The Association has two broad categories of people. The first category is Executive officials and the second category is the patrons. The Executive officials comprised of the Chairman, Vice-chairman, Secretary Assistant Secretary, Treasurer, Financial Secretary, Public relations officers (I &

II). Patrons of the Association include ordinary members both with very influential status which include the village head, the religious leaders and businessmen living outside the community but who have strong sense of commitment with the development of Miga community.

Support from these patrons was indicated to have contributed enormously to development of the Miga Islamiyya School. For instance, a good example was given of one of the patrons who is residing far away from the community but contributed one hundred thousand naira (N100,000.00) towards school development of the Islamiyya primary school (Musa, Nashabaru and Awwalu, 2009, 24).

The structure of GDA with its two levels, patrons and executive officials, demonstrates a clear division between those considered influential, including village head, religious leaders and businessmen and others.

The state research report noted that none of the GDA members are women:

Membership of GDA is male dominated. There are no women involved due to socio-cultural reasons which are held in high esteem by the men ... As such the roles and responsibilities of women ... cannot be determined. This indicates a high level of social exclusion and marginalization against pupils and women; however, women and children though have no membership all participate indirectly in activities that is initiated by the GDA (Musa, Nashabaru and Awwalu, 2009, 27-28).

This suggests that indirect methods of involvement by women may be at play. In fact later on the report confirms the type of involvement:

For example, during sanitation children participate in cleaning the community while the women prepare food and donate in cash and kind in matters relating to school and community development (Musa, Nashabaru and Awwalu, 2009, 29)

In relation to the school, the GDA is extremely powerful, since the GDA provides buildings, materials and teacher salaries, and the Headteacher effectively answers to the GDA. It is clear, however, that the GDA has been extremely successful in establishing a school. It has constructed a block of 3 classrooms, recruited 145 boys and 148 girls with a 99% attendance rate (Musa, Nashabaru and Awwalu, 2009, 30).

In this case (Miga) we see an example of a school where political, community and educational aims are indistinguishable, all dominated by the same 'influential' group of people. Traditional and religious authority appears to operate without challenge and without tension. It is interesting to speculate what would happen if the school were to become a government school. Would the requirements of government schooling, including SBMC regulations specifying female membership, disrupt the situation?

At Maigateri, a community meeting was used to elect SBMC officials, where the SBMC was established under GEP in 2005. 'Community' members, although it is not clear from the field notes who this group comprised, held a meeting with LGEA officials and identified and selected members. At Miga, there is no SBMC since this is a community-based Islamiyya school. Rather the Miga Development Association (MDA) has the role of management and development of school and community. In all cases it is not clear to what extent these community meetings were representative.

At Maigateri school, Jigawa, according to the SBMC chair, the role of SBMC in this GEP school is:

- *Sensitise communities /neighbouring communities to send children to school*

- *Observe teaching and learning activities in school*
- *Observe attendance / programme of teachers in school*
- *Interact with parents on school matters and progress*
- *Hold SBMC meetings (Field notes, March 2009)*

This view of the role of SBMC is strongly focused on teaching and learning, which is not always the case, as well as working with the wider community.

Maigateri school, according to the 2009 research report, has arranged for various CBOs to contribute money and materials, while individuals donate money and small goods, co-ordinated by SBMC (Musa, Nashabaru and Awwalu, 2009, 35). Although this school received GEP support it did not receive grant funding, although UNICEF provided instructional materials, games, recreational materials, toilets, school furniture, building materials plus teacher training.

At Maigateri the SBMC has been meeting since 2005, supported initially by GEP and later by SESP. The researchers made a photocopy of the SBMC meeting minutes book. For this reason we have especially detailed information on this SBMC. Ten meetings are recorded in that book between September 2005 and the time of the research (March 2009). The timings of the meetings are shown on the timeline below.

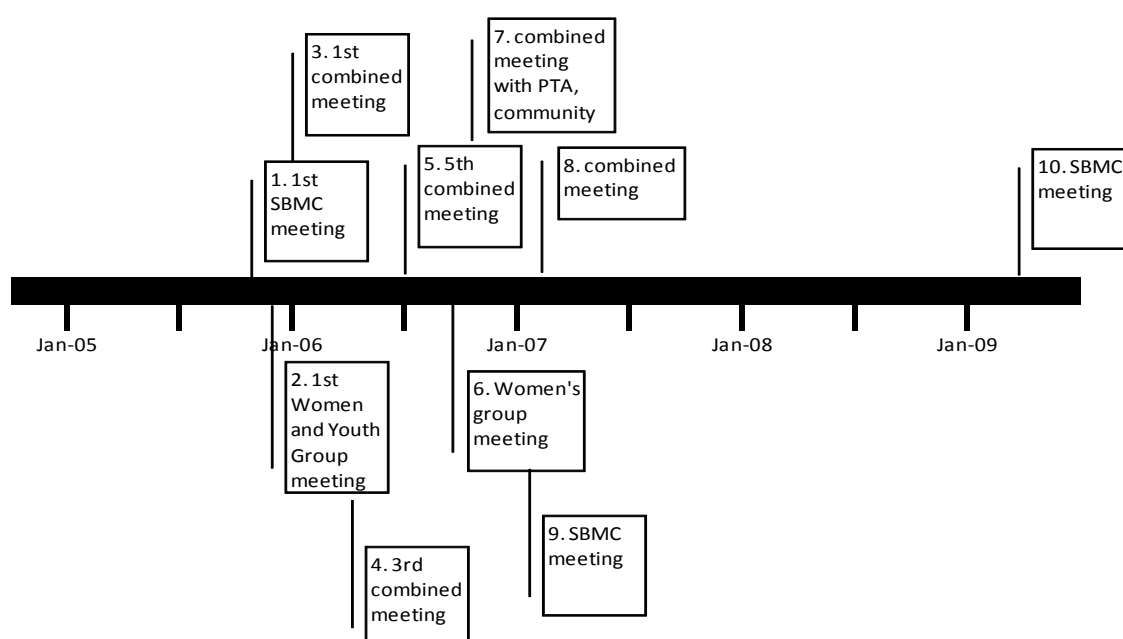
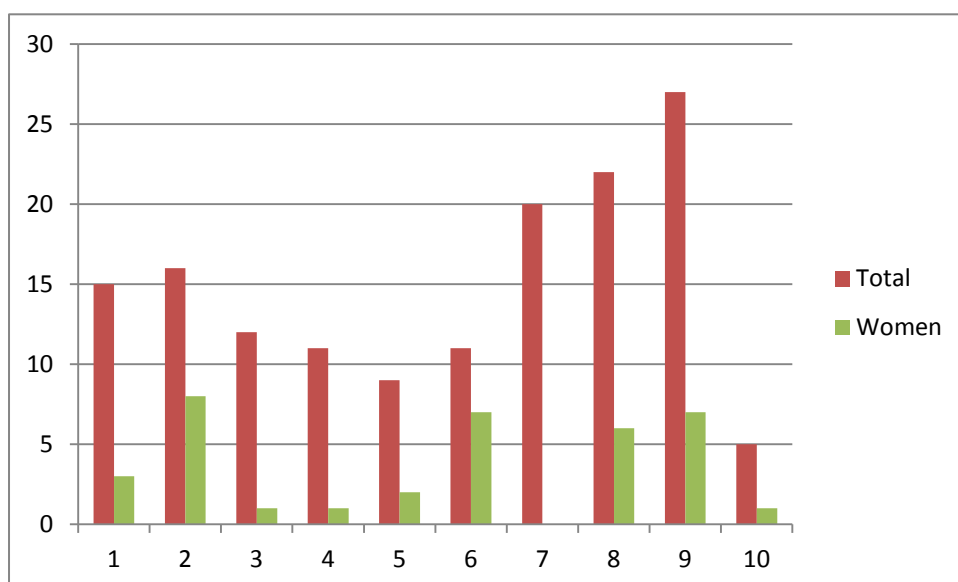
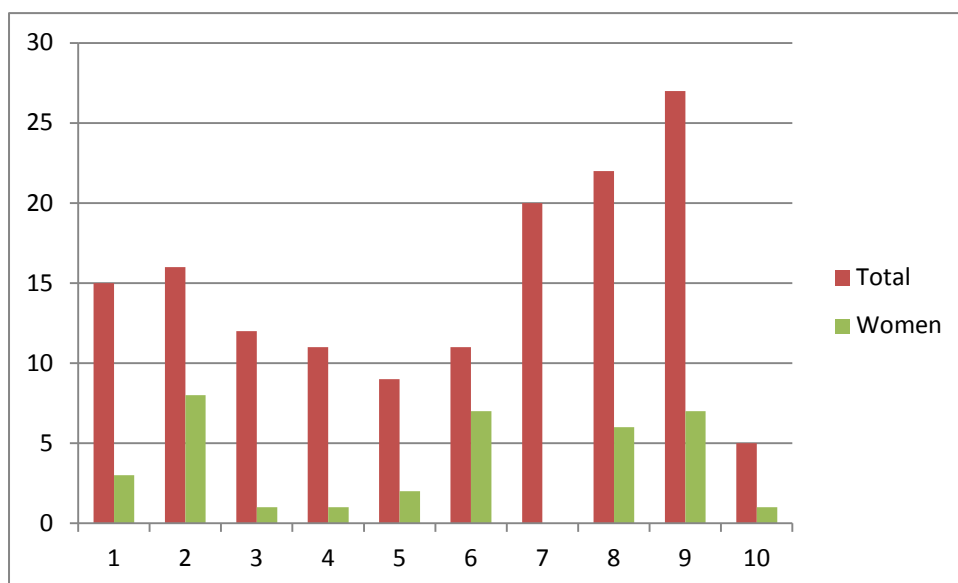


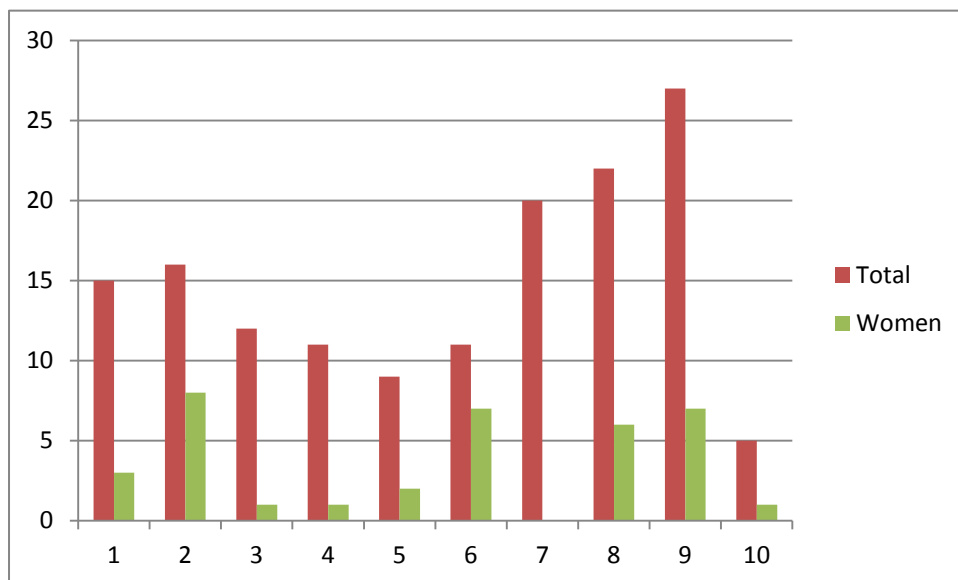
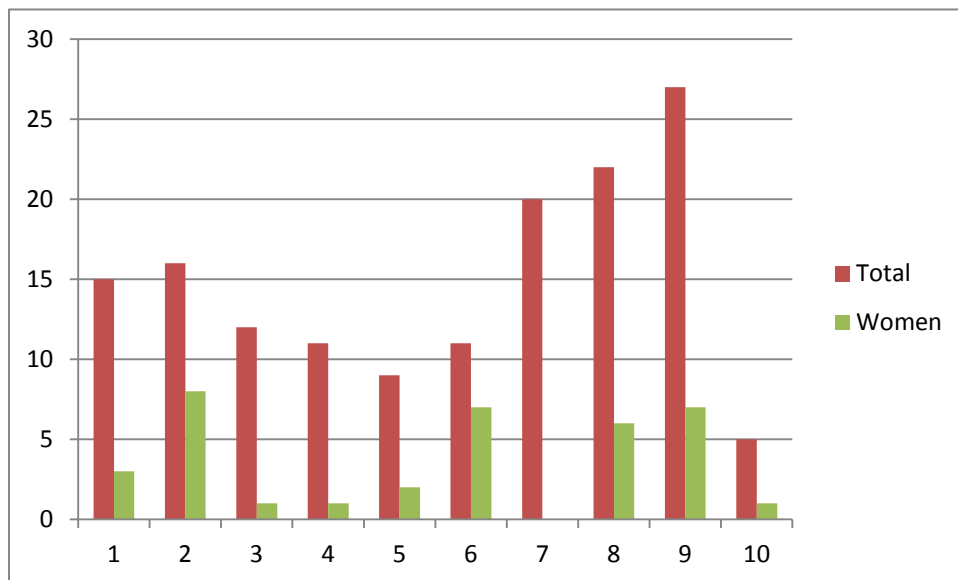
Figure 3: SBMC meetings at Maigateri, Jan 05 - Mar 09

The timeline shows that ten meetings were held in total. This includes 3 meetings that were described as SBMC meetings, one meeting of the Women and Youth Group, 5 combined meetings of SBMC, women and youth group, and one combined meeting include PTA and members of the community. It seems possible that not all meetings were recorded in this book, since initially the combined meetings are numbered, and the 4th combined meeting is not recorded. The timeline demonstrates the striking fact that while the SBMC met regularly in 2006 and 2007, no meetings are recorded in 2008 and only one meeting in 2009, a meeting which was convened for the purpose of welcoming the researchers to

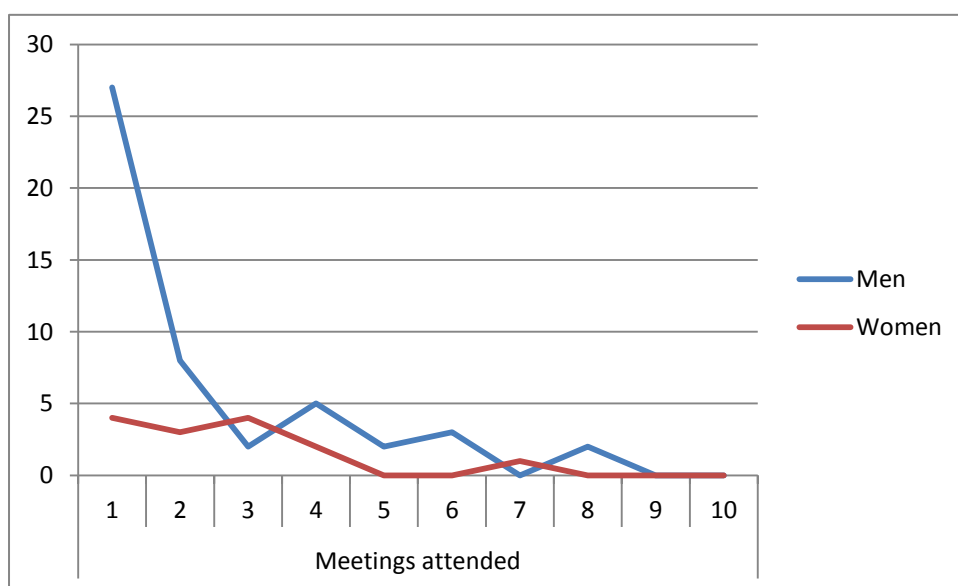
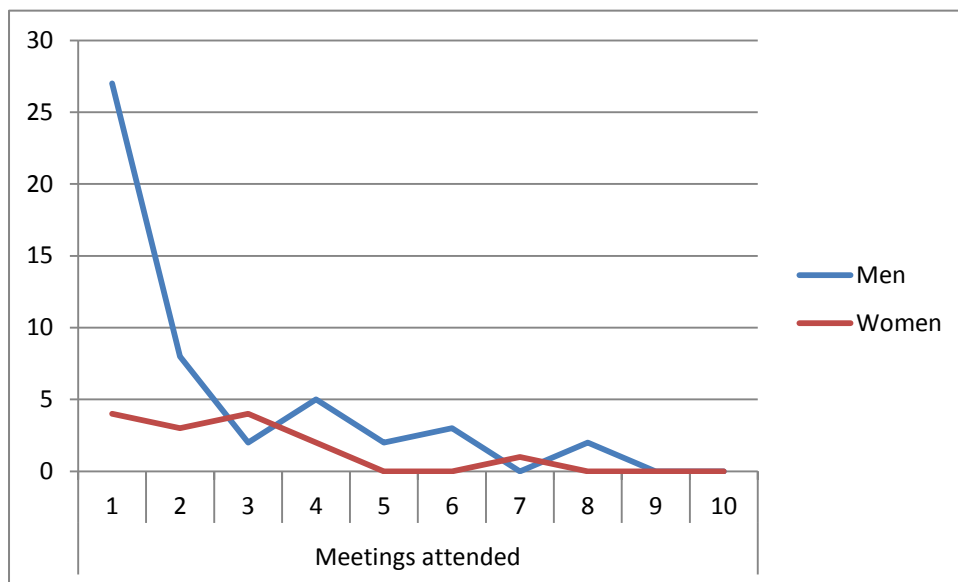
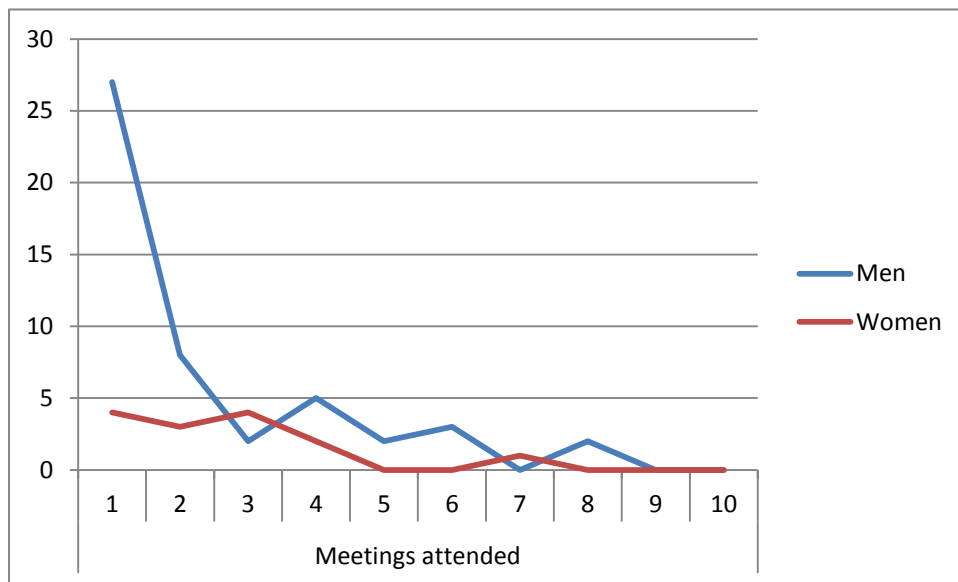
the school in March 2009. This coincides with the fact that Jigawa state ‘graduated’ from GEP support, that is, it received no further GEP funding after mid 2008 (DFID Nigeria, 2008). This would suggest that the incentive for SBMC meetings was removed when project support was removed.

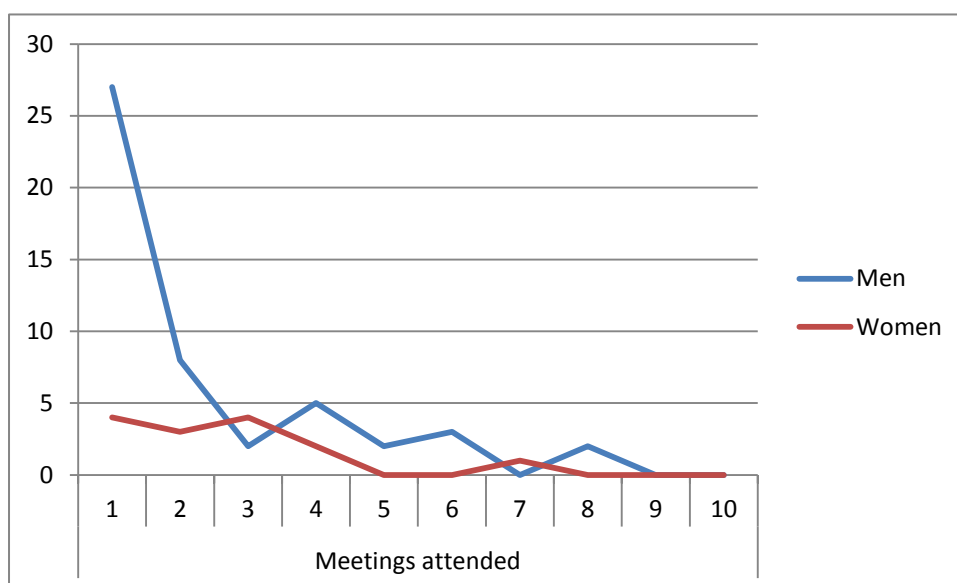
Are SBMC members invited, and do they attend? Analysis of the minutes of ten minutes indicates the following. Firstly, that fewer women than men attended. Overall, women’s attendance was 24% of the total. This is despite the fact that one of the meetings (3rd September 2006) was for women only. A women and youth group was initiated in December 2005; however subsequent meetings this group was subsumed into the SBMC.





Secondly, an analysis of the names shows that a total of 63 different people attended, 14 of whom were women. The chart below shows how many meetings members attended.





It indicates that just under half of all SBMC members of the SBMC (31 people, of whom 4 are women) attended a meeting only once. Only 5 men and one woman attended 6 or more meetings. Of these, one was the Headteacher, and one the SBMC chair. This suggests that in fact there is limited representation by a small core of people.

Miga and Maigateri offer very different orientations in relation to the question of how the space of the SBMC (or in the case of Miga, the Miga Development Association) was created. In the case of Maigateri, the space was clearly created and imposed through the GEP programme, similar to Zaria in Kaduna. It is interesting to note that the frequency of meetings dropped off sharply after the GEP intervention was ended; however it may have been successful in promoting greater attendance of women, if not participation. In the case of Miga, the MDA is a community-driven space that reflects key elements of the social world, for example the exclusion of women. However, the community management of this school, if limited and exclusive, is in sharp contrast to the cases from Kaduna and Kano with no project support, Kachia, Waje and Kumbotso, where very limited community involvement is evident.

Kwara

Kwara state is located in north central Nigeria, with a population of around 2.3 million (2006 figures) (Kwara State Ministry of Education, 2008). Kwara's economy is based on 'subsistence farming, small-scale manufacture and government driven economic activity' (Kwara State Ministry of Education, 2008). Important crops include cassava, yam, maize, guinea corn and soya bean (Kwara State Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources, 2010). Kwara state was one of the 12 states formed at independence in 1967 to replace the four regional governments.

The Emir of Ilorin is a powerful traditional ruler in Kwara state, and the Emirate history reflects the mixed Yoruba – Hausa – Fulani heritage of Kwara. It neighbours the powerful Yoruba kingdom of Oyo and was founded in 1817 following disputes within the kingdom. The original rulers of Ilorin were converted Yoruba, but are now Fulani. As Blench puts it, 'The mixed Yoruba/Fulfe heritage of Ilorin has been a source of tension since this era and the numerous political quarrels of the colonial era made

Ilorin a difficult place to govern' (Blench *et al.*, 2006, 48). That this impacts on current politics is illustrated by the violence that ensued in 2003 when the Kwara state governor raised the level of the Yoruba king to equivalent of Emir and appointed his father to the post (Blench *et al.*, 2006, 48).

According to the Kwara Core Welfare Indicators, 82% of households in the state self-classified as poor, with little difference between urban and rural areas, although that percentage was less in the western senatorial district, where Kaiama is situated (National Bureau of Statistics, 2006).

In terms of policy, among the objectives of the Kwara SEEDS is 'providing the requisite infrastructure and incentives that would guarantee basic, qualitative primary and secondary education for all Kwarans and affordable functional higher education for deserving Kwarans' (Kwara State Planning Commission, 2004, 11). There is little reference in the SEEDS to communities, other than to talk of community groups and community leaders, without really defining them.

In Kwara, education is managed at State level by the State Ministry of Education and SUBEB. There are 15 LGAs in the state, 6 of which are receiving SESP support (including Adabata, location of one of the case study schools). Kwara was described by the 2009 State research Report as a state with political conditions conducive to educational reform: 'There is political will at State level and top Education managers are keen to see change happen' (Onibon, 2009, 2). An example cited of this political will is the Kwara State Education Charter, entitled 'Every Child Counts' (Kwara State Ministry of Education, 2009). This programme aimed to establish benchmarks of achievement for every child in Grades 1-6. However, while at the time of the field study some action had been taken, for example the restructuring of Oro College of Education, supported by ESSPIN, to focus on training effective teachers, it is not clear what the impact has been, and, according to an ESSPIN-commissioned report on Oro College, the challenges remain significant (Thomas, 2011).

The optimism noted by the field researcher in 2009 seems to be bound up with the personality of the State Commissioner for Education, Alhaji Bolaji Abdullahi. The commissioner gained a reputation as a reformer as a result of his championing of a piece of research funded by ESSPIN in 2008, which indicated that of 19,100 primary school teachers who took the Primary 4 exam, only 75 teachers passed (Johnson, 2008). However it is not clear whether this finding has been substantiated by further study, and whether the result was used for political purposes or reform purposes²¹. In summary however, despite the fact that Kwara is claimed to be an example of a reforming state in ESSPIN documents, there are some questions about the extent to which it has been committed to SBMC reforms.

SBMCs were established in Kwara state in March 2007 by directive ordering all public Primary and Junior Secondary schools in the state to set up SBMCs (Onibon, 2009). This act of 'space-making' by the state MoE can be read as an act of power that is based on an expectation of compliance. In order to implement the directive, state officials claimed to the research team that the SBMC guidelines were circulated, although this was not substantiated by school level interviewees (Onibon, 2009). In addition,

²¹ Update from ESSPIN sought

state officials told the research team in 2009 they plan to raise awareness of SBMCs through radio jingles, although they did not spell out where or when (Onibon, 2009).

In Kwara, a Director who led on the introduction of SBMCs claimed to the research team that as a result of SBMC introduction there had been significant increase in school population, reduction in truancy and that children are 'forced' to school (Field notes, March 2009). A Supervisor noted an increase in enrolment and reduction of truancy of both teachers and pupils. He gave an example of one female member who said 'we go to the school every morning to see who come early and who come lately to school among the teachers on daily basis. Parents make phone calls to report fraudulent practices of some head teachers' (Field notes, March 2009). The research team was not able to verify these claims

It is not a wealthy area according to the State Report: 'According to the head teacher, many of the children are not well fed. Many parents give their children five Naira to school for feeding. This can hardly buy any meaningful food' (Onibon, 2009, 30). According to the teacher interviewed, 'most of the pupils are children of low income earners... Their parents are mostly traders, cloth weavers who produce *aso oke*, a Yoruba traditional woven fabric. Only few of them are able to pay levies and buy books and uniform. Some cannot afford notebooks' (Onibon, 2009, 35).

The SBMC was set up in 2008 through SESP and has completed a round of school development planning. With SESP grants, the SBMC has overseen renovation of classrooms, purchase of teacher guides and building of toilets. In addition, the researchers noted the PTA is quite active.

Adabata is one of only two out of the ten case study schools where researchers observed that pupils were learning well. In contrast to Borgu, the State Report notes that 'pupils in primary six at Adabata could read and write and also speak English language very fluently' (Onibon, 2009, 27). According to the Headteacher

If a primary 6 pupil cannot read, the head teacher puts the responsibility on teachers, parents and government. The teacher should be able to build a solid foundation from primaries 1 – 6. At times, parents do not provide their children with good food and school needs. All have roles to play (Onibon, 2009, 35).

This indicates a view of teachers, parents and government in partnership. There is evidence of widespread use of teaching materials, according to the State Report:

There are teaching materials in use by the teachers in their various classes. Most of their children had no textbooks only a few of them could present their text books. Displayed on the walls of all the classes were class indicators, national anthem, national pledge, animals and fruit charts (Onibon, 2009, 31).

It is not clear however from the researchers' report whether this good standard is linked to the work of SBMC or not. The field report noted that the SBMC monitors teachers and pupils to check attendance, but they do not monitor pupils' performance (Onibon, 2009, 40).

The State research Report reports the SBMC chairman as having observed ‘improved teaching and learning, the attitude of children to school activities is now impressive and teachers are more dedicated to their duties’ (Onibon, 2009, 33). According to a female teacher interviewed

due to the existence of SBMC... there has been increase in enrolment and children are doing well because teachers are striving to be more effective. SBMCs are mainly concerned with the supply of teacher’s guide (Onibon, 2009, 36).

In addition, according to the interview with the women’s group leader, ‘there is improved enrolment particularly of girls and teaching and learning has improved’ (Onibon, 2009, 38). It is not possible however to verify these claims because the research team did not collect enrolment figures over time; and in any case we cannot ascribe changes to the presence of the SBMC.

According to the interview with the Ilorin West LGEA SBMC co-ordinator, Adabata

... is a good school as the teachers and head teachers are very committed. The community is quite supportive. For example the SBMC and PTA chair are very active and lend their time to the school regularly. It has a functional SBMC. Members were selected by consensus with many stakeholders present. The headmistress with the support of the SBMC chairman set up the agenda (Field notes, March 2009, kw/ilw/2c).

According to this view, the school is a good one because of the commitment and support of teachers, headteacher and SBMC members.

However, clearly judged by standards that define a school in terms of teaching and learning, it seems at least to be an institution where teaching and learning are at the forefront of its activities. This is in marked difference to Borgu, where such activities seemed secondary and less important than the social and economic functions of the school.

According to the Kwara State research Report, researchers observed that ‘Talking to some of the children in primary six, it was observed that they all have aspirations for further education, [but] testing their ability to read, they had difficulty reading what was written on the blackboard or their books’ (Onibon, 2009, 11). My observation on visiting the school was that there was very little evidence of teaching and learning activity. Of course, the school day was disrupted by the visit of the researchers. According to the State report, there were some teaching and learning materials available, although not necessarily in use:

There are only charts in the classes and they are all the same from primaries one to six. Most of the pupils had only exercise books, only few had text books. The textbooks given by government are yet to be distributed. They are in the Head Teacher’s office for stamping before distribution (Onibon, 2009, 12).

Since the school year in Kwara state starts in September, this suggests that children have been without textbooks for the best part of six months. The school was well resourced with a library and home economics room. The library although well equipped had ‘all books intact and not in use. At a closer look, most of the books are not relevant to children’s need in primary school’ (Onibon, 2009, 13). Finally

the home economics room was full of cooking equipment, still in its plastic wrapper, and was being used as a crèche by staff.

Borgu school is also described as a good school by the ES, since it has

...a conducive learning environment with hardworking staff. The community is supportive in providing new classroom structures. It has an SBMC that follows the laid guidelines. It operates a functional SBMC (Field notes, March 2009).

However researcher observations do not back up any of these claims. Indeed the researchers felt that the SBMC at this school was largely fictional, and that a lot of projects credited to SBMC intervention were actually done by PTA (researchers' reflections, March 2009). In addition, fathers, mothers and students taking part in FGD claimed never to have heard of the SBMC (Field notes, March 2009).

The fact that despite all this the school was held up as the best school in Kaiama suggests that the idea of what constitutes a good school was markedly different for researchers and community level informants. Certainly a good school seems to equate with the presence of equipment, even if that equipment is never used. In addition it seems likely that this school was viewed somehow as the domain of powerful politicians – both local government and state level – and was therefore described as good, because to suggest anything else would be risky from the point of view of political patronage that is viewed as important in Nigeria – perhaps more important than education.

Participation was in evidence in that a community meeting was also used to elect SBMC officials at Borgu and Adabata. At Borgu, the Headteacher was informed by circular from the LG EA of the need to form an SBMC. The Headteacher called PTA leaders who were called for a meeting of the community for briefing. Members of SBMC were therefore elected and others selected during the community meeting in March 2007. The process of formation was, in theory, confirmed by community members during the feedback meeting. At Adabata, the Headteacher describes how the SBMC was introduced. The LG EA first informed her by letter. She then called the PTA and passed the information 'educating them on the guideline for membership' (field notes, March 2009). A general meeting of the community was called and they were briefed. 'Later the community came with the list of that that will represent them' (field notes, March 2009). The SBMC Chair, at Adabata (Kwara) said that the main role of SBMC is 'to make the school a conducive place for learning; to work towards increased enrolment; to work towards efficiency and effectiveness in the school' (Field notes, March 2009), which again shows that a focus on learning is high on the agenda in this case.

According to interview with researchers, the SBMC chair said that he was familiar with SBMC guidelines, and that they were followed, and that members were appointed through a ballot system. At the time of the field research, the SBMC chair was a 55 year old man who is a teacher. It is not clear from the field notes whether he was teaching at Borgu school or not. He told researchers that he was informed about the SBMC by the LG EA in 2006 (Onibon, 2009, 14), and was elected by 'community members' at an 'SBMC conference' (Onibon, 2009, 15). Who was included in this group of community members was not spelled out. He could, however, only name three SBMC members, including himself, despite the fact that the guidelines specify 17 members.

Adabata School is very different to Borgu School in that at the time of the research it had a well functioning SBMC and seemed to have an observable focus on teaching and learning. This was in contrast to the schools described so far in Kano and Kaduna. The school location and SESP support seem to be significant factors in this. In its urban location, Adabata draws on a particularly rich network of supporting organisations and influences. While SESP support had catalysed an active SBMC, the Whole School Development Process did not seem to be participatory in that parents and some teachers were ignorant of the SBMC and the School Development Plan. In addition, there were tensions between the Headteacher and the SBMC around control of budgets and resources. While the SBMC at Adabata school did seem to be making changes at the school, these were part of a highly technicised project cycle and there was no evidence of improved democratic practices or social justice as a result.

Borgu provided an example of a school where the SBMC had been absorbed: it existed on paper, its leader appears to be part of the clique, and even its so-called members did not know much about its activities. There was no demand or incentive for the SBMC to be taken any further. At Adabata, however, the broader SBMC membership was involved, perhaps with the incentive of SESP funding. There was, however, a sense that certain elements of the SBMC had been ignored, in particular the involvement of a broad cross-section of the community and a transparent election process.

Lagos

Lagos state is in the south west of Nigeria, and as well as Lagos city, it encompasses an area of islands and lagoons on the Atlantic coast. Although it is the smallest state (in terms of area) in Nigeria, Lagos city is one of the most populous of Africa, and its population may exceed 15 million (The Economist, 2011b). As well as the indigenous Yoruba-speaking population the city of Lagos has attracted settlers from Nigeria and abroad.

Lagos was a major trading and slaving port until occupation by the British in 1851. It was made the capital of the Colony and Protectorate of Lagos from 1861, and the colony and protectorate of Nigeria from 1906. Lagos city was ruled by the British much more directly than other parts of Nigeria, with the colonial rulers taking charge of day-to-day administration, rather than a system of indirect rule practiced elsewhere in Nigeria (Falola and Heaton, 2008). This extended to the establishment of a western education system, which therefore happened much earlier in Lagos than in other parts of what is now Nigeria.

Lagos state was created as one of the original 12 states of the republic of Nigeria in 1967. It was the capital of the newly independent country until 1976, when the capital was moved to Abuja. Although this move, initiated by the military government of Murtala Mohammed, was framed in practical and logistical terms, in that Abuja is central in the federation, analysts have pointed to the political reasons underpinning it (Moore, 1984). The governor of Lagos since 2007, Babatunde Fashola, is painted as a progressive and effective governor, who has initiated policies around transport and crime that have eased the lives of Lagos inhabitants (The Economist, 2011b), as well as promoting free basic education.

According to the National Longitudinal Survey (cited in World Bank, 2009), Lagos has one of the highest incidences of poverty and inequality in the country, with 67% of the population living on less than \$1 a day, and a high proportion of the population living in extremely poor conditions.

According to the Lagos State Ministry of Education, Lagos State has an enrolment of over 2.5 million at primary level, with over 1300 public schools, over 1,600 approved private schools and over 2,000 unapproved private primary schools. According to state figures, 50% of primary age children are enrolled in private schools, while 33% are enrolled in public schools, which suggests that 17% of primary age children remain out of school (Lagos State Ministry of Education, 2008). Lagos SEEDS (Lagos State Ministry of Economic Planning and Budget, 2004) was initiated in 2004.

SBMCs in Lagos state are based on clusters of schools, and Alimosho is part of cluster 5 SBMC which meets in a different school. The SBMC has met regularly since its establishment in December 2008, but has no funds to take action. Prior to abolition of PTA levies, the PTA was very active.

At Alimosho (Lagos), according to SBMC chair, priorities of the SBMC identified are 1) structures 2) latecoming of teachers and children 3) counselling children (Field notes, March 2009). This was unusual in that SBMC priorities (where identified) included what could be termed issues to do with teaching and learning.

In Lagos, because of the cluster structure of SBMCs, the key question posed was slightly different to those noted in the other states: within the cluster, do certain schools control resources, and if so, how? The State PTA representative quoted a case where two schools in a Cluster had been given some money which people mistakenly believed had been given to the Cluster, whereas it had been given directly to the schools.

In addition, the idea of community in Lagos is complex, as noted in the State research Report:

SBMCs include several schools and while the ideal is for the SBMC to be rooted in the community served by these schools, this is not always the case. Schools do not necessarily represent single communities. In a large city like Lagos, neighbourhoods may not coincide with communities, or children in one community may go to schools in different communities, even in other parts of Lagos (Hughes, 2009, 6).

The view of the researcher reflects the fact that community is not a clearly defined concept, particularly in urban environments where geographical, linguistic, ethnic and other communities may overlap. The chair of Cluster 5 SBMC was selected by the LGEA, according to the State research report:

The Cluster 5 Chairman said the SBMC was inaugurated December 2008. He was nominated as a member, then elected Chair. 'I was called to a meeting at the LGEA and the Community Mobilisation officer's team first introduced us to the idea.' (Hughes, 2009, 16)

The Lagos state research Report also illustrates how poorer people are effectively excluded from SBMC membership:

The Alimosho Head teacher mentioned a Cluster member who supports the school financially. This is something a poor person could not do, and it is obviously expected of SBMC members. The SBMC FGD agreed: a woman without a husband but with children would not have enough

money to be a member of the SBMC. Observation of SBMC Cluster 5 showed no poor people. Several members arrived driving cars (Hughes, 2009, 15).

Lagos state is clearly a situation of great contrasts, with relatively progressive social policy and functional government structures to an extent; however, there are massive social inequalities and issues related to life in a megacity, such as high cost of living and transport difficulties. This contributes to a situation where the idea of community is complex and contested.

SBMCs in this context, although an imposed structure, seem to be spaces where conflicting ideas are played out, between traditional rulers and their representatives, highly politicised teachers and school staff, and parents and community members who are literate and politically active. In this context the SBMC can be seen as a space where policies and meanings are actively negotiated, and may lead to transformation.

Conclusions

The case studies incorporate extraordinarily diverse ‘communities’, and the ways in which SBMCs have taken root (or not) are also extremely diverse. In terms of the case by case variations, it is interesting to consider the impact of SESP funding at Zaria and Adabata. While it is clear that the extra support and funding through SESP is a big factor in the development of a functional SBMC, all is not as it seems and despite the participation of women on paper, women have clearly been excluded in both schools and as interview data suggests – as at (Kaduna) in one case women were prepared to express their annoyance. The fact that they are ready and keen to get involved – but that SESP has not enabled this – is remarkable. In Kaduna at state and LGA level, and the fact that officials have seen the success of SESP-funded SBMCs is an important factor in this. It is interesting however that the SESP school case study shows that despite SESP requirements, women’s participation in the SBMC was not happening, despite the fact that women representatives were keen to get involved.

In Kano it seems likely that the PTA continues to wield power and influence and this may lead to a situation where there is no real perceived need for SBMC, since there is an active PTA. In addition, the Kano case shows how uneven SBMC implementation is, with not much evidence in either case study school that the SBMC is a real or functioning institution and indeed not much sense that there is a need for it. What may be happening, since the abolition of PTA levy, is a sort of seamless merging of PTA into SBMC. In neither school was there any knowledge of SBMC beyond a couple of key officers. The predominant mode of communication about SBMCs has been through campaigns and ‘sensitisation’.

Although Jigawa officials at state level seem enthusiastic about SBMCs the view that they have is that people are ‘nonchalant’ about education and require ‘sensitisation’. The use of the word ‘nonchalant’ appears to chime with a commonly held view that parents of school-aged children are not supportive of their childrens education; this is not backed up by discussions with parents. However the two schools provide an interesting contrast: one supported by GEP, and one entirely community-run. At Maigateri women are involved in the SBMC but their role appears somewhat limited.

Thus SBMCs rather than transforming local power structures often seem to be grafted onto existing ones. Selection methods are not stipulated in the Guidance Notes. As a result, the ways in which SBMC members have been selected in the case study schools reflect existing social and political structures. In the case of Kumbotso and Kachia for example, people's names have simply been written down on a list forwarded to LGEA, and in some cases it seems that nominees have not themselves been informed. In other cases, community meetings have been held to select members but these seem to be limited and choices seem to reaffirm those already in positions of power and responsibility.

The SBMC can be ignored by simply writing down the names of office holders and carrying on as before. It can be absorbed by ensuring that its office holders are members of the existing clique and carrying on as before. It can be engaged with by establishing it as intended but it will be compromised by its fundamental clash of values with the pre-existing political structures.

These different patterns can be explained and understood by considering the ways in which the power holders at school and community levels perform their roles in relation to SBMC. SBMCs as institutions are not always viewed as welcome, because they do have the potential to disrupt the status quo and shine a spotlight on existing practices. Even if schools are not sources of financial power, they can be sources of symbolic power. Power can be seen as deriving from personal, professional or institutional/bureaucratic sources.

This examination of state and school contexts suggests that SBMC policy was not developed as a response to people's demands. Rather it seems to have developed as a perceived solution to a key set of problems by policy makers at federal level. The policies, rules and institutions were developed and ordered by federal and state governments and sent to LGEAs and schools. Implementation and monitoring appear to be directive and top-down. Communities are viewed instrumentally, as vehicles for mobilising resources. State authorities, in their attempts to construct the SBMC as a space, demonstrate their preference for a space that is focused on mobilising resources and controlling and educating people. Yet in the response to the introduction of SBMCs at community level we see a variety of processes and responses at play. The question arises then as to whether the policy can produce new formations of community and the space for them to tackle and transform the situation in which they find themselves. Chapter 7 will consider what strategies SBMC and wider community members used to attempt to shape the 'invited' space of the SBMC.

Chapter 7: SBMC implementation: constructing engagement, shaping the space

This chapter focuses on the enactment of SBMC policy, from local government down to schools and communities. Policy enactment is often assumed to be a linear process. Much of the analytical literature on decentralisation, participation and service delivery is concerned with the mechanisms of these processes, rather than policy aspects. This chapter focuses on what happens in the process of policy enactment, in particular the processes and dynamics between local government, school and community. The chapter also considers the agency of particular policy actors, drawing on Ball, Maguire & Braun's typology (Ball, Maguire and Braun, 2011). The case studies raise a number of questions around the process of policy implementation. How is the SBMC produced? How is it bounded? What traces of power and social relations does it bear? What are the pre-existing social, political and power relations? How do key individuals position themselves in relation to the SBMC? Who are the power holders? What strategies do they adopt in order to maintain that power? And how is community imagined and constructed in this process? In exploring these questions in relation to the data, I seek to elucidate the complex web of institutions, individuals, and the social, economic and political context in which SBMC policy has been introduced.

I outline three strategies available to decision makers in local government, schools and communities when SBMCs are introduced: ignore, absorb or engage. The SBMC can be ignored by simply writing down the names of office holders and carrying on as before. It can be absorbed by ensuring that its office holders are members of the existing clique and carrying on as before. It can be engaged with by establishing it as intended but it will be compromised by its fundamental clash of values with the pre-existing political structures. For individual actors, Ball, Maguire & Braun's (2011) typology of policy actors and policy work provides a useful starting point (see Chapter 3), although there are clearly some differences between the UK primary school context from which the typology was derived, and the Nigerian context of this study.

The process described provides a challenge to the linear model of policy implementation. In focusing on the strategies adopted by different individuals and institutions towards the SBMC, it seeks to throw light on how the policy is subverted and weakened. And finally, it provides a challenge to the ways of conceptualising the link between participatory development and community, as something that is done to communities; can be something that communities initiate themselves; or, as a process that *produces* communities. In addition, it emphasises the somewhat ambiguous position of Local Government and its role in SBMC implementation.

Situating local government

Cornwall emphasises the need 'to situate those who invite, as well as those who are invited' (Cornwall, 2002, 52), but in this case, there is some ambiguity as to whether LGA is invited, or inviter. A 'new' participatory space bears the traces of social relations and experiences of similar spaces. They may

therefore be 'infused with existing relations of power, reproducing existing relations of rule' (Cornwall, 2002, 51). In this way, spaces created by 'the powerful' may be 'discursively bounded to permit only limited citizen influence, colonising interaction and stifling dissent' (Cornwall, 2002, 51). I take this to mean that, for example, the new space of the SBMC is 'haunted' by the spectre of the PTA, banned in many states, and the politics and social relations of which were problematic.

According to Cornwall's perspective, a participatory space such as SBMC, with defined categories, rules of membership and discourses, produces participants and inviting them to participate, but only within the prevailing order, rather than allowing people to define and express their own identities. Discourses of participation make available particular subject positions for participants to take up, bounding the possibilities for agency (Cornwall, 2002)

In the case of SBMC, these positions include Chairman, Secretary, 'representatives of women's organisations' (Federal Ministry of Education with UNICEF, 2005) for example. Participation can be seen in spatial terms – as being about positioning 'citizens' in new arenas and repositioning them in relation to older institutions.

School Based Management Committees are an example of community participation through 'co-production' between community and government. One of the objectives of SBMCs as listed in the guidance notes, is to '[p]rovide communities and LGEAs with a new mechanism through which they can demand accountability from school managers (i.e. Head-teacher)' (Federal Ministry of Education with UNICEF, 2005, 5). This particular objective suggests an interesting relationship with the Headteacher positioned between community members and LGEA representatives. A classic grassroots democratic structure would more likely have the SBMC demanding accountability from the Headteacher and LGEA. In addition, SBMC roles and responsibilities as outlined in the same document include 'reporting to the LGEA on a regular basis on developments in the school' (Federal Ministry of Education with UNICEF, 2005, 6). What this suggests to me is that the LGEA is seeking to retain control over the SBMC without accepting that it, too, needs to be accountable to citizens at community level. I would argue therefore that the strength of SBMC as voice mechanism is diluted.

The political context of the school must be considered from a number of angles. Firstly, what are the incentives and motivations of various actors from their involvement with the school – do they stand to gain votes, resources, jobs, patronage, power or something else? Secondly, how strong is the political influence? Are there other factors that mitigate it? Finally, to what extent do the politics work with or against the educational aims of the school?

Local government representatives construct their engagement with SBMCs

Cornwall's approach poses questions of how those engaged in participatory spaces construct their engagement. Local government representatives in the case studies construct their engagement, position themselves and deploy strategies in different ways. An example from data collected in Kaduna is the Education Secretary at K LGA (Kaduna). She is a woman, in her fifties, who has only been in post for two

months. In interview with Kaduna state researchers, she says that in terms of SBMC implementation, she writes to the officers responsible to direct them, however, she says 'I do not know about the guidelines'. She is not satisfied with implementation of SBMC because 'they lack funds to carry out their activities and they lack mobility to [do] their work' (Kaduna researchers' notes, March 2009).

This ES demonstrates that her strategy is one of seeking to control but at the same time distancing herself from the practical problems. In this she corresponds to the narrator or transactor position identified by Ball, Maguire & Braun (2011), although her ability to direct and influence the process is limited by her lack of access to information. The fact that even the ES has not seen the guidance notes is interesting. This shows also how her engagement is mediated by the federal government, in that she has partial or inaccurate knowledge of federal government policy, actions and intentions.

In some cases however, the strategy of LG officials is to try to shape and influence the agenda and to influence at LGA, school and community level – the policy entrepreneur position, according to Ball, Maguire & Braun (2011). For example, in Zaria LGA (Kaduna), the ES is a man in his 50s, who has held the position for five years. In response to state level directives, He called a 'sensitisation' meeting of desk officers and gave them the SBMC guidelines. He is satisfied with implementation because 'changes are taking place and schools are improving'. He says that SBMCs could be improved by 'more sensitisation workshops for SBMC members and the community. This will enhance proper understanding of roles and responsibilities of SBMCs'. In addition, he says that there was a 'small conflict between PTAs and SBMCs but I called a meeting and resolved it' (Kaduna researchers' notes, March 2009). In this he positions himself as a policy entrepreneur, using Ball, Maguire & Braun's (2011) typology, in that he constructs himself as having some control over the enactment process. The focus on sensitisation however is an interesting one which reflects a perceived need to shape community knowledge, activities and values.

In other cases, local government officials construct their engagement as supportive of schools and communities, but also supervisory. The Social Mobilisation Officer at Alimosho LGA (Lagos) is a woman in her 50s. She has done the job since 2003 and was formerly a teacher. In interview with Lagos state researchers, she explained that she first heard about SBMCs from State government in December 2006, and thinks that the idea came from federal government. She sees the main role of SBMCs as being the welfare of schools in their community. Although she does not describe how the SBMC programme in the state was started, she describes some of the things that she does. Her role, she says, is to inform SBMCs of meetings and 'supervise their activities'. For example, she photocopied the SBMC guidance notes for SBMC chairmen. She comments that the 'community decides on SBMC membership but only from among those they know can work. Women are the main participants in the SBMC (Lagos researchers' notes, March 2009). In this case, the SBMC as a space is constructed around ideas of welfare but also as stemming from federal government. Her own engagement is 'supervisory'. Her strategy is to try to occupy and control that space – a policy transactor, according to Ball, Maguire & Braun (2011) while she constructs the community as limited and lacking in capacity, and inclusive only of those who can work.

In some cases, officials construct their engagement with SBMCs in strictly hierarchical terms. At Fagge LGA (Kano), the PTA/SBMC co-ordinator is a man in his 30s. In an interview with Kano state researchers, he describes his main responsibilities as mobilisation, explanation to Headteachers about SBMC, 'enlightenment', and reporting to SUBEB. What he actually did was to inform community and distribute posters. This indicates very much a 'sending message' model of communication. He claims 'all schools have complied' (Kano researchers' notes, March 2009). In this case, the SBMC as participatory space is constructed as a blank slate to be filled. He describes his own engagement in strong terms, such as mobilisation, explanation and enlightenment, reporting back to SUBEB, and demands to which SBMCs have 'complied' – once again, a policy transactor, with a strong emphasis on ensuring compliance.

Similarly, a social mobilisation officer in an interview with Lagos state researchers, describes how SBMCs report to her by letter, phone or text message. She gives the example of 'last Sunday evening at 9pm I got a text from A so I ran to him Monday morning for clarification'. The LGEA receives the minutes of all SBMC meetings, and the researchers confirmed this in her office, as if the SBMC is working for the LGEA. She comments that community members grudge giving time and money to SBMC activities (Lagos researchers' notes, March 2009). In this case, the SBMC is constructed as being somewhat unwilling. In terms of her own engagement – she emphasises her commitment, her 'busyness' which can be interpreted as an expression of power; reinforced by her emphasis that the SBMCs report to her. She says that she is not at all satisfied with the implementation of SBMCs in Alimosho. People are not interested because there are no funds. One problem that she notes with cluster-based SBMCs is that people 'don't like sourcing for other people's children', so while they might be perfectly happy to contribute to their own children's school, they do not like to contribute to the cluster. She suggests 'SUBEB need to call people for meetings and enlighten them more'. She does say, however, that there have been positive changes as a result of SBMCs in that they are encouraging people to use public schools (Lagos researchers' notes, March 2009). The key issue for both LGEA officers is the struggle for resources for basic functions, common to local government across the country.

Similarly, one official emphasises his role in terms of extracting resources from the community. The SEO and Desk Officer, SDS, in Zaria LGA is a man in his forties who has held this role for two years. His job involves supervision of schools. In terms of SBMC implementation, he describes himself as 'facilitator of sensitisation of SBMC members' and says that he distributed the guidelines to schools. He pronounces himself satisfied with the implementation of SBMCs because the community and SBMC contribute money and labour. The relative optimism of officers in this LGA may be down to the involvement of SESP, which means they will have received training and resources through the programme (Kaduna researchers' notes, March 2009).

Constructing engagement as powerful is a common strategy by local government officials. The PTA/SBMC Co-ordinator of Ku LGA (Kano) told researchers that he first heard about SBMCs from SUBEB in 2005 and thinks that the idea originated from UBEC and is a 'policy requirement' (Kano researchers' notes, March 2009). He explained his role to researchers as in charge of PTA and SBMC activities, including establishment of PTAs and SBMCs, awareness creation about PTA and SBMC, reporting of their

activities to SUBEB and providing feedback to communities from LGA and SUBEB. He also distributed the guidance notes to Headteachers. This suggests again a very hierarchical view of the SBMC, controlled by and reporting to SUBEB. It is interesting that the roles and activities of the two organisations appear to be elided, in his description, for example his main responsibilities include 'seeing to the establishment of PTAs and SBMCs' and awareness creation about PTA and SBMC activities'.

However, the PTA/SBMC co-ordinator describes a situation where despite the position of power in a hierarchy of institutions that he describes, his influence is limited. He describes the establishment of SBMCs in this LGA has been problematic. He explained in interview that he established 'leadership in the LGA' on SBMCs but says that they are unable to meet because 'understanding about SBMC is poor'. Although he says that he is satisfied with the awareness being created, and the establishment procedure, the way that SBMCs are functioning 'leaves much to be desired'. Also since SBMCs were first mentioned there has been a break, because of 'non-involvement of ES whose Headteachers depend so much on his instructions' (Kano researchers' notes, March 2009). This suggests resistance at LGA level. In addition, space is constructed as being to educate/create awareness of a specific, government agenda. The main role of the SBMC, according to him, is 'awareness creation about community ownership of the school' and advocacy towards increased support to the school. Membership is decided usually on the basis of the guidelines. He provides a detailed diagram of relationships. This interviewee hints at political problems at LGEA level and a lack of interest in, and commitment to SBMCs from the ES and others (Kano researchers' notes, March 2009).

SBMC as a constructed 'space' for participation

According to Cornwall's outline, participatory spaces are not static. Rather relations of power within and across them are constantly reconfigured, while participants themselves actively occupy, negotiate subvert and mediate those spaces; they construct themselves in reaction to those spaces, while at the same time they are constructed by those spaces (Cornwall, 2002, 50).

At school levels, officials deploy key discourses as they construct and occupy the space of the SBMC. In some cases, these discourses are focused on educational improvement. For example, according to the SBMC Chairman at Borgu, the main role of the SBMC is 'assisting in improving the teaching and learning at the primary school level' (Onibon, 2009, 14). This is noteworthy in that he sees educational goals as central to the work of the SBMC. He described his own duties as 'ensuring that stakeholders work in harmony in achieving set goals, encouraging members to participate actively in the development of primary education and resolution of conflicts arising in the school system' (Onibon, 2009, 14-15). This would seem to chime very much with a model of participatory development driven by the community.

According to the SBMC chair's account, this SBMC is active and functional. The SBMC Chair holds termly meetings, and at the last meeting, key issues discussed included 'poor performance of teachers, inadequate instructional materials and poor enrolment of pupils' (Onibon, 2009, 15). Decisions were reported verbally to the ES. According to the Chair, activities undertaken by the SBMC include 'monitoring teaching and learning' (Onibon, 2009, 15) and 'The construction of a block of 2 classrooms

through local government assistance' (Onibon, 2009, 15). As a result 'there has been increase in enrolment, improved teaching and learning activities, increased level of commitment by parents through the monitoring of school activities' (Onibon, 2009, 15). These claims could not, however, be verified. In this, SBMC members are policy receivers, that is, coping with the demands of policy enactment, without necessarily having a say in the process.

In contrast, the Headteacher appeared to have little knowledge of the SBMC. He was informed about SBMCs by SUBEB, through a letter inviting him to an SBMC workshop. No date is mentioned. 'He claimed to have informed members of his staff and stepped down the knowledge gathered from the workshop to staff of the school and members of the local community' (Onibon, 2009, 13). He gave the main roles of SBMC as 'monitoring all that goes on in the school and giving support to the school when the need arises' (Onibon, 2009, 13). However, he admits, he has never seen the SBMC guidance notes himself. Interestingly, in this case the Headteacher constructs himself as a policy receiver, without power to manage and influence the process himself.

In practice however, beyond the SBMC chair, there was limited knowledge about the SBMC. For example a female teacher of 37 who has been working at the school for three years was interviewed. She had been informed about the SBMC, but had no idea about its activities (Onibon, 2009, 17):

She lamented the inadequate information flow on the outcome of SBMC meetings. She said that she has limited knowledge of SBMC and its composition (Kwara researchers' reflections, 24th March 2009)

Six students, 3 girls and 3 boys, from grades 5 and 6 were interviewed, and they had not heard of the SBMC, but were familiar with the PTA, knew what PTA levies were and what they were used for (Onibon, 2009, 17). In addition, neither the mothers or fathers groups interviewed had heard of the SBMC: 'In the community, most parents, women and men do not have any knowledge of the SBMC but are very conversant with the PTA' (Onibon, 2009, 8).

Despite this, the research team was impressed with the SBMC at this school, and according to the State Report, concluded:

The SBMC has been set up in the Central Primary school using the given outline. An interesting feature of the SBMC in the school is the fact that though they have not received any financial support from either the State or the World Bank, they have been able to embark on successful projects such as the construction of classrooms (Onibon, 2009, 8)

What are we to make of the contradictory evidence presented here? The SBMC chair gives a glowing account of the SBMC – formation, activity and results. And yet he can only mention three members. Meanwhile, the Headteacher and parents are barely aware of its existence. Possible explanations are that the SBMC chair is lying, or that the SBMC, rather than being a democratic and representative organization, is in fact run by Local Government representatives, largely bypassing the powerless Headteacher. The Headteacher says, for example, that while he is responsible for the preparation of the school budget, he passes it on to the LGEA office 'where decisions are taken' (Onibon, 2009, 14). The female teacher said that Local School Supervisors (LSS) work closely with the Headteacher (Kwara researchers' notes, 24th March 2009). According to the researchers, the classroom blocks that SBMC

members claimed they had built were in fact constructed by Local Government (Onibon, 2009, 8). In addition, some of the teachers are wives of Local government officials (Field notes, 25th March 2009). In addition, according to the State Report, 'not all [SBMC] members had information about some of the activities embarked upon by SBMC' (Onibon, 2009, 20). My impression at the time was that it was in fact the PTA or LGEA who had undertaken the construction projects attributed to the SBMC, and that the SBMC existed on paper only.

Very different ideas about community are evident in these accounts. There appears to be a silence around the wider community. The SBMC chairman mentions that he was elected by 'community people', but he does not explain what he means by this, or who, for him, constitutes the community. He also says that as chairman he has the opportunity of serving 'his community', but again, since few members attend SBMC meetings, one wonders whether his idea of community is rather narrowly defined, and the researchers do not raise that question. Finally, he notes that there is an 'increased level of commitment by parents through the monitoring of school activities' (Onibon, 2009, 15). In this way the SBMC chairman constructs parents as not committed, a view that is not challenged by the researchers.

In the Kwara State research Report, it is striking how interview material and analysis on the role of the SBMC tend to focus on its administrative and managerial functions, rather than its functions as a representative, democratic institution.

The SBMCs are expected to see to the smooth running of the schools. They are also to assume ownership of the school and provide platform on which the school can generate funds and provide more mechanism for effective management of the schools (Onibon, 2009, 4-5).

At a focus group discussion with SBMC members in Kwara state, one member when asked about accountability said that

SBMC is accountable to the community, LGEA is accountable to the SUBEB and the school is accountable to the community and the LGEA, as the LGEA pay teacher's salaries and have the responsibility to monitor schools' activities and discipline airing teachers and non teaching staff (Onibon, 2009, 21).

This is relevant because it means that this SBMC member understands the idea of accountability, yet it is at odds with what they practice, since most of the members were not in fact familiar with SBMC activities, never mind the wider community. They have no involvement in funding decisions: 'The HM [Headteacher] meets and draws up the budget together and passes it on to the LGEA who approves' (Onibon, 2009, 21). There was, however, enthusiasm from the fathers group: 'There was clear enthusiasm towards knowledge and participation. Participants were happy that the SBMC initiative is on but would like to know more and be part of the process' (Onibon, 2009, 22). This suggests that although there has not been much opportunity for fathers to be involved, that they are enthusiastic about involvement. Similarly, at the research feedback meeting, parents requested better communication of plans from the LGEA.

There is little evidence from this data of the implementation of SBMCs opening up any spaces for transformation and change. In this case, as a central primary school, this school is very much under the control of LGEA with regular visits and surveillance, not just from LGEA but also from the Governor's office. The Headteacher seems to lack power – in that for example, decisions are made with or by LGEA – and parents are largely kept in the dark about school activities. There was however some evidence of teachers dissatisfaction at the research feedback meeting; according to the State Report, '[m]ost of the teachers present took the opportunity to further lament their predicament of lack of motivation and low remuneration' (Onibon, 2009, 24). Together with the sense of powerlessness expressed by the Headteacher, this suggests an institution that is controlled by others from the top down.

The interview with a community leader provides a small rupture in the fabric of the story of Borgu school that has been told so far. He is a 52-year old former teacher, now secretary to the Kaiama Emirates Council, the office of which is located opposite the school. It should be noted that the Kaiama emirate is at the same time a source of traditional authority while also an element of local government, in that traditional rulers are funded by government. His comments on the school, though very careful, strike one of the few critical notes:

Community members through PTA assist in enrolment drive. They visit schools particularly when their children are truants to report their excesses. Most parents attend the PTA meetings and make donations when it is needed. He stressed that the donation of poorer members of the community is usually greater than that of the so called influential. He did not know any other organization that supports the school apart from the PTA. He is not aware of the existence of SBMC in the school but knows that PTA exists to assist the school, listen to their complaints and help proffer solutions (Onibon, 2009, 16).

This indicates that he has no knowledge of the SBMC. He is critical of the way that poorer members of the community are required to contribute more than richer members. This suggests that his vision of community is a broad and inclusive one, given the mention of poorer parents. This contrasts with the narrow view of community implied by the SBMC chair. Furthermore, he commented on trainings and workshops attended by teachers and educational officials: 'most programmes are just formality to most of our people. They just attend it and don't follow up or internalize it' (Onibon, 2009, 17). The secretary was wary of commenting on school affairs because he did not want to be seen to interfere,

...for example, if there are two political parties and the ruling party is working with the school, those in opposing political parties will be seen as intruders if they come asking questions in the school. Anybody that is useful to the community is afraid to talk because of politics (Onibon, 2009, 17).

Although this was not corroborated by other interviews at this site, this may be because it is a difficult and controversial topic to bring up.

A female SBMC member was interviewed at Borgu, in Kwara state. This woman was known as a community leader and prominent PDP politician. The researchers' reflections are interesting in that they clearly indicate suspicion:

Though the interview was open, it cannot be said to be very frank. E.g. the women leader claimed to be disseminating information to other women in the community, but the women claimed to be completely ignorant of the concept and existence of the SBMC... Summarily, the

women leader seemed to be a politician who has little or no time to participate in school activities (Kwara Field notes, March 2009).

So while this member's claims are certainly disputed, it is interesting that her words are disbelieved by the researchers, where the words of other informants are always taken at face value, an attitude that seems to reflect a deep-rooted suspicion of political activists. The researchers were clearly taken seriously by local politicians because the governor's advisor came to the feedback meeting.

This gives us an indication of the way in which politics infuse the school and its relationship with other institutions in multiple layers. The emirate and local government have their own relationship with inherent tensions, then layered on top of this are the national political parties which infuse those relationships with a further layer of tensions.

From this perspective, the relationship between SBMCs and improved educational outcomes is at best ambiguous. The Headteacher does not know about the preparation and implementation of a school development plan, according to researcher's reflections:

Triangulating information from all stakeholders, there seem to be some contradictions on claims of step down trainings conducted for staff as most members of the school community claimed ignorance of SBMC practices. However, the head teacher had a detailed record of minutes taken at the last SBMC meeting in November 2008 (Onibon, 2009, 14).

This suggests that the Headteacher felt it necessary to present an alternative truth to the researcher, that he knew very well that according to State 'directives of strict compliance' that cascading the training further should have been done but indicates that from his perspective this was not, in fact a priority.

In summary, there are divergent and contradictory accounts of the SBMC at Borgu School, for example between the SBMC chair, and the Headteacher and parents, who are barely aware of its existence. In addition, discourses around the SBMC differ markedly from observations of how it functions in practice, for example the Headteacher and SBMC members focus on community, accountability and change, while the practice is around elite control of the institution, silence towards community members, and maintaining the status quo regarding decision-making. One possible explanation for this is that a few individuals closely connected to the LGEA are effectively running the school, while the Headteacher is sidelined. It cannot therefore be said that the SBMC is a community-based organization. Although there is frustration with the status quo on the part of some parents interviewed, the SBMC has not, so far, given them the opportunity to voice their concerns. As to why this may be the situation, we need to examine the political context of the school and the politicized nature of relationships between school, local government, traditional authority and political parties.

At Adabata, in Kwara state, there is evidence of some tension between the Headteacher and SBMC. In the SESP model, grants are provided direct to SBMCs based on their school development plan (State Education Sector Project, 2007). Although the Headteacher is a member of the SBMC as secretary, she is just one voice among many and this was clearly the cause of some tension at Adabata. For example,

according to the State Report, the Headteacher suggests that she 'be allowed to have input in the selection of [SBMC] members' (Onibon, 2009, 34). This could be indicative of a struggle for control between Headteacher and SBMC. Further, the State research Report mentions that 'On budgetary matters, the PTA and SBMC make decisions... she also said that it is the responsibility of the SBMC to prepare and implement the school development plan' (Onibon, 2009, 35).

This then is a very different scenario to Borgu, where LGEA controlled the budget. At Adabata it seems to be the SBMC and PTA, and this is perhaps not quite comfortable for the Headteacher. Indeed the researchers reflect that in the accounts of Headteacher and others 'there were lots of contradictions particularly in responding to decision making and planning and budgetary responsibilities' (Onibon, 2009, 35).

According to the State research Report, the research team concluded 'there is no effective communication from the school to the community on the existence and activities of the SBMC' (Onibon, 2009, 44). During the feedback meeting, the Headteacher strongly disagreed with this, and a 'heated discussion' ensued. Perhaps this response was related to the feeling of lack of control that the Headteacher expressed elsewhere, or it may have been due to fear of the research team and what they intended to do with the results. Either way it seems likely that the Headteacher of Adabata was feeling insecure in her position.

At Borgu, I observed the sidelining of the Headteacher due to the strong control over the school exerted by local government (HP field notes, March 2009). At Adabata, the control and influence of the SBMC seems to be ascendant, while the LGEA is notable by its absence, although the State Report notes good communication between LGEA and school (Onibon, 2009, 27). In terms of accountability, Adabata SBMC members said that they are accountable to the school community, the school is accountable to the LGEA and LGEA to SUBEB (Onibon, 2009, 40). However the question remains as to how broad their definition of community is, given that the majority of parents interviewed had never heard of the SBMC. The SBMC chair notes lack of funding as a problem, despite the fact that they get SESP funding. 'Inadequate funding is the main challenge, he requested for regular funding and a possible sitting allowance including transport allowance' (Onibon, 2009, 33).

It is clear that the model of governance at Adabata school is very different from that at Borgu. The SBMC has some degree of control over resources and is able through SESP support to set its own priorities and take action, within the confines of SESP guidelines. The influence of LGEA is much reduced in this process, and the degree of control that the Headteacher has is compromised. However a number of questions remain. It is not clear who actually holds the power on the SBMC, or how they were selected. It is not clear to what extent the personal characteristics of the Headteacher – as a woman and 'non-indigene' – are at play. And it is not clear what role SESP systems, SBMC structure and local politics play in this picture.

The SBMC at Adabata is an essential element of SESP Whole School Development Plan (WSDP) cycle, so it was set up in 2008 and meets fortnightly, driven by the SESP, through which the SBMC can access

funds to implement elements of a School Development Plan. It is not clear however to what extent the selection of SBMC members was participatory. The Headteacher describes in the State Report how she was informed about the SBMC by the LGEA by letter, how she then

called the PTA and passed on the information educating them on the guideline for membership. A general meeting of the community was also called and they were briefed. The community later came up with the list of those to represent them on SBMC (Onibon, 2009, 34)

It is noteworthy that the SBMC was formed through the PTA, but again it is not clear who was included in the community meeting, how the community selected members, or how participatory this process was. According to the State Report, the SBMC Chairman describes how the SBMC was set up 'using the stipulated guidelines' (Onibon, 2009, 32) and the selection was 'participatory', although it is not spelt out how.

It is clear that the SESP cycle is a strong driving force, encouraging meetings and activities by the SBMC, but that these activities are not necessarily communicated beyond the SBMC. In this, SESP staff play the role of what Ball, Maguire & Braun (2011) term policy outsiders, pushing and facilitating the process. A meeting had been held shortly before the researchers' visit on 15th March 2009. The items on the agenda were '[r]etirement of remaining fund, regular attendance of members and deliberation on the next project' (Onibon, 2009, 32). With SESP grants, the SBMC chairman describes the work that the SBMC has completed:

Two classrooms have been renovated, construction of a block of 3 toilets with 10 holes, construction of 30 desks and benches, sensitization of community members on the education of their female children and purchase of instructional materials for teachers (Onibon, 2009, 32).

This work indicates priorities that focus on infrastructure, girls' education and instructional materials.

The role of the SBMC is understood differently by different individuals. For example, one discernible thread is the focus on 'sensitisation'. The SBMC chair states that one of the activities undertaken by SBMC is 'sensitisation of community members on the education of female children' (Field notes, 30th March 2009); despite this, however, according to the State Report, mothers and fathers of students at the school had never heard of the SBMC. According to the fathers' FGD, 'there is no communication between SBMC and men in the community' (Kwara researchers' notes, 1st April 2009). According to the State Report, the SBMC chair described the role of the SBMC as 'making school a conducive place for learning, working to promote increased enrolment and to work towards efficiency and effectiveness in the school' (Onibon, 2009, 32). This is a clear statement of purpose which seems to encompass learning and management functions, rather than representative or democratic functions. The Headteacher said that the main role of the SBMC was to 'oversee the running of the school and [help] to solve the problems therein. They also supervise' (Onibon, 2009, 34). Her view is focused on managerial and problem-solving functions of the SBMC. Finally, according to the State Report, the female teacher interviewed

is aware of the existence of SBMC and was first informed by the Head Teacher at a meeting where she informed all staff. According to her, the main role of the SBMC is to ensure that schools infrastructures are adequate; they also make sure school security is assured. They

sometimes supply textbooks and provide some school charts that are now placed in all the classrooms (Onibon, 2009, 35).

This indicates that the Headteacher has taken care to inform staff about the SBMC; however, it indicates a view that the SBMC is mostly focused on infrastructure development and supply of equipment.

However, the researchers note that awareness of the SBMC amongst parents and the wider community is not high: 'it was noted that as vibrant as the SBMC is in the school, most parents, women and men do not have any knowledge of the SBMC but are very conversant with the PTA' (Onibon, 2009, 27). The mothers' group had heard of the PTA, but none of them had heard of the SBMC (Onibon, 2009, 42). This indicates a problem with the SESP implementation, since WSDP is designed to be a participatory process (State Education Sector Project, 2007).

There is a much clearer idea of community coming through in the Adabata account than in the Borgu account, where the community seemed to be largely invisible and discounted. There is a sense at Adabata of much less distance between school officials and community members, although clearly that gap is still significant. For example, the SBMC chair discussed the advantages and disadvantages of his position:

Praises from SUBEB and community members and a good legacy for his children and family members were given as the advantages he derives from the position. The only disadvantage he gave was that he could be called upon at anytime without prior notice. If invited to chair again he would accept because of his readiness to serve his community (Onibon, 2009, 32).

There is a sense here of community approbation as something to be actively sought. Who he includes in his vision of community is not, however, explored. In addition there is a sense that Adabata School is supported by a rich mixture of community-based organizations, as described by the Headteacher in the State Report:

Several organisations support the school in different ways, for example, The Third Estate²² and Kwarans living abroad (KSANG) who gave exercise books, textbooks to pupils in each class. They have also promised to give computers to the school though there is no room to house them yet. The Third Estate built a block of 2 classrooms for Child Development Centre with electricity, and promised to continue to support the school for six years. Youths in Adabata also coach pupils during holidays (Onibon, 2009, 34).

The fact that the school has access to social networks including powerful Hometown Associations is noteworthy. The website of the Kwara State Association Nigeria (KSANG) Seattle Chapter, invites donations of school supplies for Adabata elementary schools (Kwara State Association Nigeria (KSANG) Seattle Chapter, 2009).

Another prominent discourse about community in Adabata is the idea that communities used to take more part in running schools and that they should do so again. For example, according to one SBMC member

²² An association for indigenes of Ilorin.

School is not the same anymore. The community was fully involved in the past, now most people feel isolated from the happenings at school level. People believe that the school is now the solely government responsibility, which should not be so (Onibon, 2009, 38).

This is significant coming from an SBMC member, and echoes some historical accounts claiming that in the past, schools in Nigeria were much more embedded within communities than they are now (Fafunwa, 1991; Taiwo, 1980). This view appears to be supported by one of the fathers' group:

When asked about decisions about the school budget, one of them responded saying, 'we do not expect government to do everything. It is expected that community would be interested in making decisions or checking decisions on schools budgetary matters' (Onibon, 2009, 42).

This indicates a very different orientation towards government and school to that observed in Borgu, perhaps due to a number of factors including stronger community mobilisation, the urban nature of the population at Adabata, as well as the influence of SESP.

In addition there is the 'lazy community' discourse. A local 'community leader' was interviewed, a 'title holder'²³ of the Ilorin Emirate Council. He is an 83 year old retired psychologist, and former pupil of Adabata A primary school himself. According to the community leader in the State Report,

If a roof blows off, he is of the opinion that the community should repair but the community does not want to spend its money on repair of schools because they do not see it as their responsibility. There is nothing bad in the community contributing this to the development of the public school (Onibon, 2009, 36).

This is a view echoed by the women's leader. This suggests a view of community who are unwilling and should be prepared to contribute more readily.

At Adabata 'A' it is clear that there is a strong and active SBMC but it seems likely that much of its activity is catalysed by SESP funding. There are clearly many advantages to this situation; however while there is evidence that the SBMC is functioning well as an administrative body, there are question marks over its management and democratic functions. The problem with its democratic function is that people who are not members of the SBMC do not appear to be aware of its activities or in the case of parents, of its existence. This is at odds with the participatory model of school development promoted by SESP. It suggests that while decision making over the school may have broadened out, it is still controlled by a narrow group of people.

Borgu is a good example of a school where the local micro-politics is working against the educational aims of the school, whereas Adabata is a case where the educational success of the school goes hand-in-hand with the politics. That is to say, there is political capital to be gained from a successful school, whereas at Borgu, the capital lies elsewhere, perhaps in jobs at the school, for example. At Borgu, the political influence appears to be extremely strong. This could be exacerbated by the fact that it is so far

²³ Holder of an honorific title which may be political and/or religious in nature

from the state capital, so that local politics in a resource-rich area is extremely vibrant. At Adabata, the political influence appears to be less strong and is perhaps mitigated by SESP involvement.

At Borgu the SBMC has been absorbed into existing practices and structures: it exists on paper, its leader appears to be part of the clique, and even its so-called members do not know much about its activities. There is no demand or incentive for the SBMC to be taken any further. At Adabata, however, the SBMC has been engaged with, the incentive here being SESP and SESP funding. There is, however, a sense that certain elements of the SBMC have been ignored, in particular the involvement of a broad cross-section of the community and a transparent election process.

By contrast, in Lagos, where both case study schools were chosen from the same LGA, Local Government representatives perceive that they have been excluded from the implementation of SBMCs. Chief A is in his 50s and has been Education Secretary (ES) in Alimosho LGA for 10 years. Previously he worked as a banker. In terms of resources, he mentions that there is no money for school running costs, or SBMCs. The state government gives each LGA N 500,000²⁴ per month for all sections, including education, and the education section oversees 19 Junior Secondary and 62 primary schools (Lagos researchers' notes, March 2009). In interview with researchers, he makes it clear that he has felt somewhat excluded from the process of SBMC development, for example he explains how one SBMC chairman from Cluster 2 attended a workshop on SBMCs in Abuja, and neither he nor the community leader was told about it. However, he says that LGA inaugurated SBMCs, and that they know who the right people are: the retirees, pastors and those interested in education. 'We brought those we knew were interested' (Lagos researchers' notes, March 2009). So far, he is satisfied with the implementation of SBMCs, but says that they would perform better if given money. He cites as a success an Oba who gave N150,000 for classroom renovation in Cluster 2 (Lagos researchers' notes, March 2009).

This vignette raises the question of whether LGA representatives are invited or inviters. The SBMC is constructed as being formed of 'the right people', but lacking resources, the implication being that a successful SBMC is a rich one. His position seems to be one of personal exclusion, but he is active in negotiating and staking his claim by indicating that LGA officials know who the 'right' people are to be SBMC members.

The SBMC co-ordinator/PRS officer at Ilorin LGA said in interview that he heard about the SBMC in 2007 from the state MoE, and believes that the idea of SBMC originated from there. He says that SBMCs have been constituted according to guidance 'because of the strict compliance measures put in place through training' (Kwara researchers' notes, March 2009). This is an example of the belief that training is sufficient to ensure policy enactment. It also raises the question of whether in this case the implementation of SBMC policy can in some cases be deployed by state MoE officials as a means of exercising power over the LGAs.

Negotiating the space: SBMC meetings and the deployment of power

²⁴ Just over £2000 at 2010 rates

More generally, the ways in which SBMC leaders draw on links to authorities and even UNICEF to establish themselves as powerful is illustrated by the case of Maigateri, in Jigawa. The minutes of the first SBMC meeting, which took place in November 2005, suggest that the meeting was dominated by the Headteacher and the SBMC chair. The Headteacher positions himself in a position of knowledge and authority using a number of strategies. He explains members' responsibilities to them, including

... their contribution towards assisting the school from every angle by ensuring security to the school, providing personal assistance and management of the school properties, they also assist on ensuring full attendance of the staff and pupils to the school. Beside that, they will also serve as sources of information from the community to school and to LEA up to UNICEF when the need arises (Maigateri Primary School SBMC, 2005).

By emphasising a long list of tasks for which members are responsible, and invoking LEA and UNICEF, he aligns himself with the authorities, and constructs the other members as excluded from this link. As Headteacher, he is automatically secretary of the SBMC and has an official position. As secretary, he is responsible for writing the minutes of the meetings, so that the record of the meetings is his version of events. The Headteacher goes on to explain the objectives of the SBMC as well as the role played by UNICEF, by 'providing funds, teaching materials, providing toilet facilities, safe drinking water, arranging seminars and workshops to the staff and members of the community' (Maigateri SBMC, 2005). By doing this, he appears to be claiming some of the benefits that the GEP project will bring.

By holding the pen, by holding forth, by claiming knowledge and by aligning himself with the generous donor, the Headteacher exercises power in subtly different ways. He does not seek to subvert or disrupt; rather he seems to assume a position that he expects, and that is expected of him; an example of Foucault's 'normalisation' (Foucault, 1977). In addition, this serves as an example of the way in which the participatory space is 'discursively bounded'. The Headteacher does show however that he understands the 'rules' and ideals of participation that underpin the SBMC by stating some problems of the school and inviting members to propose solutions.

According to the SBMC chairman:

... there is less knowledge on the importance of the education and also due to the cultural belief in education, but he said that now there is improvement due to some awareness that the parents are receiving and he emphasised that there is need for more orientation of some parents in the area, so that they can bring their children to the school' Maigateri SBMC, 2005).

This comment suggests that the chairman believes that problems of the school are due to a lack of knowledge or orientation on the part of parents.

In this particular meeting, the question of girls' education is raised by the Headteacher.

... he asked them why girls are not enlisted 100% in school, so then he explained that educating girls is very important because educating girls is educating many, so they should try by enrolling their daughters in school, so that they should not deny their rights on education (Maigateri SBMC, 2005)

Once again the Headteacher's intervention is clearly about first of all blaming members for not sending girls to school and telling them what to do. Finally, questions and comments are invited. One comment from a member complimented the committee while another from a female member to 'reassure the

committee that women will not be left behind, so they will contribute fully toward this movement' (Maigateri SBMC, 2005).

At this particular meeting, according to the record of the minutes, most of the time the Headteacher spoke, in order to inform members about SBMC duties and to tell them what to do. He invited questions and comments, to which brief comments were made by four other members, including the SBMC chair, chief Imam, and one other male and one female member. This suggests that the majority of members are silent. Those that speak tend to be those in positions of authority. Women can be among those that speak, although we do not know anything of the background or status of the female member in this case.

As well as emphasising the top-down nature of the task given to the members by the Headteacher, who places himself in a position of knowledge and authority, this extract also demonstrates the expectation that members are expected to facilitate the flow of information upwards. It is interesting to note that UNICEF is understood as responsible for support to the school, rather than federal, state or local government.

Subsequent meetings follow a similar pattern, with the Headteacher dominating proceedings. In the third meeting (25th January 2006), interestingly, a member demands the formation of a Fulani sub-committee:

Hardo Umaru continued by demanding a permission for creating a sub-committee of four people, solely Fulani, despite the existing ones, so they can be able to discuss and bring what is expected from them, because they only know their loopholes. So considering their demands and of future fruitful advantage, I told them that they are now permitted. So after our meeting he told me that he will go and collect four members so that I will explain details to them (Maigateri Primary School SBMC, 2006).

This is interesting because it suggests that Fulani members of the community feel that they have specific needs and interests. It also indicates the degree of control that the Headteacher holds over proceedings. Interestingly, the same demand is repeated in the minutes of the next meeting (March 2006), with slightly different names for the Fulani sub-committee. There is no further evidence in the minutes of activities of the Fulani sub-committee, although Fulani representatives (as well as the member named above) did attend two later meetings.

Conclusion

The process described provides a challenge to the linear model of policy implementation and show some of the dynamics of policy enactment. Officials at local government level who were interviewed position themselves and construct themselves in different ways. Using Ball, Maguire & Braun's (2011) typology of policy actors reveals that at school level, most actors construct themselves as policy receivers, that is, fundamentally alienated from decision-making and disempowered in the policy process. It is also striking that those at LGA level have little access to information and therefore little opportunity or motivation to influence the enactment of SBMC policy. Some seek to control the SBMC while others seek to shape the space and engage with school officials and communities. Attempts to

place themselves in position of authority vis-à-vis communities requires them to position communities as lacking in competence, so that they require shaping or moulding. While authoritarian officials align with a model of participatory development as something that is imposed on communities, their idea that communities are in need of shaping and moulding also contains a germ of the idea that participatory development constructs and creates communities.

Officials at school level also seek actively to construct their engagement with SBMC policy. Broadly speaking three types of engagement can be discerned: absorb the SBMC into existing structures, ignore it, or engage with the participatory development processes that it seeks to introduce. The strategies adopted by different individuals and institutions towards the SBMC, show how the policy is shaped at local level, but that this act of shaping is primarily in the hands of those who already hold the power.

In some ways, the data provides a challenge to the ways of conceptualising the link between participatory development and community, in that participatory development is not simply something that is done to communities (although often the vision is very hierarchical) While it is clear, as demonstrated in chapter 6, that the framework of SBMC policy is imposed from federal level, the shape that it actually takes in this case is influenced by local elites. The SBMC as an institution is being introduced into contexts where there are pre-existing struggles for power and resources. Schools tend to be run by a small clique comprising the Headteacher, LGEA officials and traditional rulers.

SBMCs are not something that communities initiate – in fact, in the cases studied, sections of the community are often excluded altogether, or a vision of community is evoked that is exclusive. In the competing narratives around the SBMC there are significant gaps and silences around key issues such as gender and ethnic politics. The next chapter will examine in more depth the processes of inclusion and exclusion in and around the SBMC.

Chapter 8: The SBMC as participatory space: community, gender and inclusion

In Chapter 3 I identified three main orientations towards the relationship between communities and participatory development. Participatory development can be something that is done to communities; can be something that communities initiate themselves; or, drawing on critical policy/discourse analysis, participatory development *produces* communities. In this chapter, I will examine the data in relation to processes of inclusion and exclusion as communities are defined and re-defined.

Inclusion is a process, defined by Young as a model where all those affected by a democratic decision are 'included in the process of discussion and decision making' (Young, 2000, 23). In fact, the processes by which participatory institutions operate are often opaque. There are multiple opportunities for the process of inclusion to fail. These include the assumption that categories of membership in policy guidelines will be adhered to; that members will be selected according to fair and democratic processes; that selected members will attend meetings; that if they attend, they will speak; that if they speak, their voices will be heard; that decisions will be made at the meeting, following a full and open debate; that decisions will then be implemented.

These questions can all be seen as questions of power and how it operates within the SBMC. Who holds the power? Who is included? Who is excluded? Why? How? How does the SBMC relate to existing power structures? What forms of power are being negotiated? How is community linked to these discussions? I will focus in particular on questions of inclusion from a gender perspective, but will also consider the inclusion of other marginalised groups including children, youth, the poor and ethnic groups. This chapter begins by briefly reviewing the literature around gender and community participation in school governance. Then it will analyse whether and how gender appears in key policy documents. Finally, it considers what emerges from the case study data in relation to the key arguments in the literature, before drawing some conclusions.

In summary, I will argue that women continue to be excluded from participation in SBMCs in multiple ways. As such it supports the broader assertion by feminist researchers that simply giving women seats on a committee does not add up to a sufficient strategy for tackling gender inequality in education (Rose, 2003a). It also points to the need for a more nuanced understanding of the way in which women occupy, engage and strategise around and within spaces such as SBMCs.

Debating power, politics and participation

This discussion will contrast two key positions. Firstly, the idea that processes of exclusion are linked to poor implementation and bad participatory practice. This is linked to a binary notion of power in which some groups are excluded and oppressed by others. The second position sees inclusion and exclusion as processes that are dynamic, fluid and finely balanced, and must be understood in relation to diffuse notions of power. In this chapter I seek to consider the data from these two perspectives with a particular focus on how notions of gender and community are expressed.

As discussed in Chapter 3, one critique of participatory development is that it fails to deal with difference, diversity and individual agency. The Chambers view is that if exclusion happens, it is because participation is being 'done' wrong:

Who is excluded from participation, or marginalized in it, whether by gender, age, poverty, social group, religion, occupation, disability or other similar dimension, has been a persistent concern... As PRA spread fast there was bad practice in excluding those who were variously female, weak, poor and busy, contrasting with the good practices of empowering the powerless (Chambers, 2005, 102).

The implication is that certain groups of people were either excluded from participation, or marginalised in the process, because of the rapid uptake of PRA during the 1990s, it was done badly. This implies a binary view of power, where the marginalised ('lowers') are actively excluded by those in power ('uppers').

An alternative view is that participatory approaches fail to recognise how the different, changing and multiple identities of individuals impact upon their choices about whether and how to participate (Cleaver, 2001). This chimes with Cornwall's concept of spaces for participation, which are the 'sites in which different actors, knowledge and interests interact and in which room can be made for alternatives, but from which some people and ideas remain also excluded' (Cornwall, 2002, 51).

These positions mirror two key ways of understanding gender in relation to community participation. One position is that increased community participation in school governance is an important strategy to tackle problems in the education system (Bray, 2000; Burde, 2004), including gender inequalities, in Nigeria and elsewhere (Bray, 2000; Burde, 2004; Rose, 2003a). Critics of this position contend that models of community participation have a tendency to reflect, maintain and cement gender inequalities in schools and wider society. Exclusion happens because these spaces although perhaps new are infused with existing power relations, reproducing inequalities of gender, ethnicity, age and social class and defining who may or may not participate (Cleaver, 2001; Cornwall, 2002). These new spaces may, however, also open up spaces for unheard voices, or spark collective action, as the researchers observed in Kaduna.

According to Cornwall (2002), community is performed and created in participatory spaces like SBMCs. In this view, the participatory space of the SBMC bears 'traces of social relations and previous experiences of planned interventions in other spaces' (Cornwall, 2002, 51). The SBMC because it is created by the powerful, may be 'discursively bounded to permit only limited citizen influence, colonising interaction and stifling dissent' (Cornwall, 2002, 51). The important point is that participants may have alternative visions, can push the boundaries, change the discourse, take control and resist. While participants are constructed by the participatory space, they are at the same time constructing their own engagement, and themselves. In addition, '... community meetings and community action plans do not just presuppose its [community] existence, they *perform* and in some senses *create* it'. For example, although the space may be created with one purpose, it can end up doing something quite different. That is, at the same time as exerting surveillance and control, it may also open up a space for collective action or unheard voices. Cornwall emphasises however the contingency and fluidity of the

discourses and power relations that produce spaces for participation. This makes them 'ambiguous and unpredictable'(Cornwall, 2002).

Particular spaces may be produced by the powerful, but filled with those with alternative visions whose involvement transforms their possibilities, pushing its boundaries, changing the discourse and taking control (Cornwall, 2002, 51).

Where Chambers and Cornwall primarily differ is in terms of their understanding of the way in which power operates in participatory institutions, or spaces. For Chambers, power is mostly held at the centre, and community-based, participatory institutions must seek to take back that power. For Cornwall, there is a fluid, Foucauldian vision of power which operates in multiple sites and in multiple ways. These different visions have implications for researching participatory spaces. With the Chambers vision, the researcher would look for evidence of SBMC members or communities that they represent gaining and exercising power. With the Cornwall vision, the researcher would look for the ways in which SBMC members and other actors construct, resist, and challenge their positioning in relation to the SBMC, a position that appears more fruitful.

Gender and community participation

Community participation in school governance initiatives often seek to address gender inequalities by, for example, reserving seats in school management committees or other institutions for women. Commentators note that even when women are given seats on school governance structures, they tend to remain silent or, if they do speak, do not tend to pursue women's issues. For example Wilkinson describes how female school council members' contributions in Brazil were limited to endorsing decisions, that they tended to be silent in meetings, and in addition did not seem to represent community interests, rather 'old political practices carried on in new participatory venues' (2009, 107). In another example from Malawi, one third of places on school committees are reserved for women. However, this quota is rarely met, and in her sample of 20 schools, seven schools had no female representation at all. Discussions with committees suggested that women tended either not to come to meetings, or to remain silent if they did come (Rose, 2003b).

Cornwall (2004a) analyses the extent to which 'new democratic spaces', meaning both civil society organisations and participatory processes and institutions (such as school based management committees), offer new opportunities for women to engage in political processes, while also questioning the costs of participation. For Cornwall and Goetz, community is part of the patriarchal and traditional structures that prevent women's political participation. Cornwall and Goetz (2005) question the assumption that gender concerns can be tackled by simply inserting more women into existing democratic structures. They note that the outcome of such strategies is often that women may be there on paper only, or they may be there but silenced, or they may be there but not necessarily pursuing gender interests. In addition, women's activity in the 'invited spaces' of participatory development may require them to focus on traditionally 'feminine' interests and prevent them from engaging with bigger picture politics (Cornwall and Goetz, 2005). Indeed, these 'invited spaces' may 'divert and dissipate

social and political energy as provide productive spaces for engagement'. This suggests that such spaces can reproduce the existing political culture, and the constraints to inclusion that go with it.

While SBMCs in Nigeria aim to tackle gender inequalities in education through increasing women's participation in school governance structures, feminist critiques alert us to the multiple ways in which well-intentioned gender policies can be subverted and derailed by the gendered nature of normative structures and practices including the community (Guijt and Shah, 1998a), the state (Stromquist, 1995) and participatory development (Cornwall, 2001). For example, Stromquist (1995) in addition examines the ways in which feminists engage with the state, and implications for education, and argues that the state is not neutral towards women. The state is key when it comes to education, schools are 'instruments of the state', and 'major managers of social values and representations', and their poor track record suggests a limited amount of political will to bring about change.

...if women get an education that does not address the nature of gender (nor that of class or race) in society, then women become capable of making more and better contributions to the economy and to the family as presently constituted, while their increased schooling does not threaten the status quo, and the basic structures of ideological and material domination are retained and sustained (Stromquist, 1995, 445).

In addition, community participation interventions tend to conflate 'identity with identification' (Cornwall and Goetz, 2005, 797), and assume that women on committees will pursue women's interests.

Many projects tend to pay attention to material needs rather than to structural forces, for example focusing on getting more girls into school, or more women into committees, rather than transforming gender relations (Rose, 2003b; Wilkinson, 2009). In such cases, the new spaces can themselves become sites of exclusion, where existing gender inequalities are reproduced and reinforced.

Ambivalent policy

In Nigeria, the notion of gender equality is an explicit aspect of SBMC policy, for example the selection of states for implementation of SBMC training is explicitly based on the selection of 20 states with high gender disparities. However, the definition of this gender disparity is not clearly spelled out (Akinsolu and Onibon, 2009). The assumption underpinning this initiative is that selecting states with high gender disparities will be sufficient to tackle overall gender inequalities in the Nigerian education system.

The key SBMC policy document, the 'Proposal on a framework for school based management in Nigeria' (Federal Ministry of Education with UNICEF, 2005) contains very little reference to gender, other than

Increasing community involvement in school management also clearly supports the EFA goals of improved enrolment, retention and achievement in schools, because... women and students themselves can have a greater say in the management of their own schools, which stimulates the increased enrolment, retention and achievement of both girls and boys.

This statement includes a complex set of assumptions which must be unpicked. The first assumption is that SBMC membership will include women and students. The membership guidelines suggest that a full

SBMC would include 17 people, including at least seven or eight women, and two students. An approach which specifies a minimum number of women has much in common with quota systems and affirmative action elsewhere and is based on the view that the key issue is to address the lack of numbers of women within the institution. However it does not consider the extent to which the institution and the social structure in which it sits are gendered. The second assumption is that the membership of women (and children – the categories are not differentiated) will mean that they will have a say in the management of their schools. In fact, as pointed out by Cornwall and Goetz (2005), requiring the representation of women on committees may not be a very successful strategy because they may be there on paper only, or they may be there but silenced, or they may be there but not necessarily pursuing gender interests. Finally, the assumption is that as a result of women's and student membership on the SBMC, enrolment, retention and achievement of girls and boys will be increased. There is little evidence for this, although in a review of three programmes promoting community participation in education in India, Banerjee et. al. (2008) show that if there are more women in community leadership girls' attainment goes up; however their indicators for this were very limited, and they only looked at it over 2 years, so this issue requires further investigation.

This analysis of policy raises questions for the case study data: is women's membership of SBMCs and participation in school management facilitated by SBMC policy? To what extent are women able to participate? And is there evidence that their presence is positively influencing girls' enrolment, retention and achievement? And to take it further, is there evidence that it is having an impact on gender relations more broadly?

Representation of women on SBMCs

In none of the research sites were the guidelines adhered to in terms of the numbers of women on the SBMC. According to the SBMC guidelines (Federal Ministry of Education with UNICEF, 2005) the SBMC should include at least seven women out of a total of 17 members. In our case studies, it should be noted first of all that it was extremely difficult to establish how many members SBMCs had, and who they were, due to the apparent fluidity of membership. The following table represents approximate numbers gleaned from interviews and examination of SBMC minutes.

	Total members	Women members	Notes
Alimosho	24	6	Cluster
Akowonjo	11/22	4/9	School/cluster
Waje	n/a	4	Formed June 2008
Kumbotso	n/a	n/a	Formed 2008
Kachia	n/a	8	March 2009
Zaria	n/a	4	March 2007
Miga	18 + 8 patrons	0	Development association (not SBMC)
Maigateri	15	3	September 2005
Adabata	n/a	n/a	Formed 2008
Borgu	n/a	n/a	Formed March 2007

Table 8: Numbers of women on SBMCs

In the schools where data was available, the fact that the number of women members falls short of the stipulation suggests that reserving a number of seats for women on SBMCs does not necessarily mean that those seats will be given to women. In addition it must be pointed out that the full complement of members wasn't met in nearly all of the research sites.

Interestingly, a former Director for Lagos state, when asked his view on the role of women on SBMCs, claimed that SBMCs were 'women dominated' (Lagos researchers' notes, 18th March 2009), while the Alimosho LGEA Social Mobilisation Officer claimed that women are the 'main participants' in the SBMC (Lagos researchers' notes, 18th March 2009). However, minutes books from both Cluster 2 and Cluster 5 SBMCs did not substantiate this claim, either in terms of numbers of women attending the meetings, or who was doing the talking and taking decisions. Why then is there a perception that women are somehow 'in charge' of Lagos SBMCs? One possibility is that the education system in that state, unlike in other parts of Nigeria, is highly feminised – according to the former Director Social Mobilisation, women constitute 80% of teachers, they attend SBMC and PTA meetings, and it is always mothers who come to school when children are asked to bring their parents (Lagos researchers' notes, 20th March 2009). During the transect walk at Akowonjo, researchers were told that 'the mothers are the owner of the child' (Lagos researchers' notes, 18th March 2009).

Despite these assertions however, in Lagos even well qualified and available women are excluded from positions of responsibility on the SBMC. For example, Shola, a woman university lecturer in her 50s, is a member of Cluster 5 SBMC. During interview, she stated that in fact there are more men than women members and that all the SBMC officer holders are men. When asked if she would have been interested in being SBMC chair, for example, she says that she would, but was never asked (HP field notes, Lagos, March 2009).

Shola clearly has skills and experience, as well as commitment to her community that would presumably be valuable to an SBMC. She and her family run an NGO, the Centre for Youth and Human Resources Development, which works with women and youth in the area. Shola was involved in setting up the Alimosho school in the 1990s. Her NGO activities include running a feeding programme and nursery school at Alimosho, as well as providing capital for women's enterprises. Her experience of running the nursery school was that many children were coming to school without breakfast and would come and sleep. Most children are from polygamous families – they live with their mothers who run small shops and businesses – and may struggle to take care of their children. Nevertheless they still aspire to send their children to private schools in the area, a common pattern being that they go for a term or two and then drop out when they can't continue to pay school fees, and rejoin Alimosho.

Despite insinuations that girls and boys are treated the same in Lagos, her view is that in fact boys tend to get favourable treatment because they carry the name – so boys may be sent to private school, while girls are sent to government school, or in some cases, girls are kept at home. These decisions, she suggests, are often justified through 'superstition'. In this case, Shola has experienced the SBMC as a

male-dominated institution, and her experience therefore provides a useful counter-narrative to claims of gender equality in schools and SBMCs in Lagos.

Akwoonjo school is located in a very different type of community. In this case the leader of the local market women was selected by researchers to be interviewed in the category of women's leader (Lagos researchers' notes, 18th March 2009). She is the head of an association which includes representatives from all the sellers, e.g. pepper and *gari* (cassava flour) sellers. The association is focused on peace and progress of the community, including education of the children, and cleanliness of the area. Her view is that there is no problem for girls going to school, 'except for those that don't want to'. What is interesting is that although she is clearly a powerful woman in the area, she had not heard of the SBMC before this interview, but said that she would inform her members and was ready to co-operate.

In Shola's case there is a suggestion that positions on the SBMC are available only to those who are invited, and she is explicit about the fact that women are not usually invited. But there are other ways in which women are excluded from membership, particularly younger, poorer women, through the combined pressure of lack of time, money and the burdens of caring work. The Lagos case studies present a complex picture of the ways in which women are represented on SBMCs. While it would be accurate to say that women are in a minority in terms of participation in the SBMC, it is also true that some women are more marginalised than others. When asked who are the most marginalised groups, the LGEA social mobilisation officer noted the non-indigenes, widows, unmarried mothers, HIV positive people and the disabled (Lagos researchers' notes, 18th March 2009). So while some women are certainly powerful and influential, some categories of women are not, and we need to look beyond the catch-all category of women in this case. This is backed up by the members of SBMC Cluster 5 who said that a woman without a husband, but with children, would not have enough money to be a SBMC member (Lagos researchers' notes, 18th March 2009). SBMC members in this context require money in order to move to SBMC meetings (because Lagos SBMCs are based on clusters rather than individual schools, travel time and expense can be substantial in a city where it can take several hours to move a few kilometres), and because contributions to SBMC funds are expected from members. This points to the multiple and complex ways that women's membership and voice on the SBMC is constrained, not just by their gender, but by their age, social background, economic situation and lack of time.

In Kaduna, the key constraint for women is the fact that women are less likely to be literate than men, and literacy is seen as a key requirement of SBMC members. According to the Director Policy Research Services (PRS), one of the key challenges of implementing SBMCs in Kaduna is 'finding literate people in the community to be members of SBMCs, especially women' (Kaduna researchers' notes, 18th March 2009). At Kachia school, reports of women's participation during meetings was ambivalent. On the one hand, the Headteacher reported that the women 'give advice and entertain with water during meetings' (Kaduna researchers' notes, 30th March 2009), while on the other hand, 'they contribute in decision making' (Kaduna researchers' notes, 30th March 2009). This suggests that on the one hand, women are involved with the serious business of decision making, while at the same time they are serving the

committee water, what could be seen as a traditional 'female' role. It is not clear whether one role closes off the other.

In contrast at Zaria school (a SESP school) women's membership and participation in the SBMC was much less clear. When asked about the role of women members, the SBMC chair claimed that there are four women members, that they attend meetings and make contributions. He also said that if they make useful contributions they are adopted – although he failed to give any examples (Kaduna researchers' notes, 24th March 2009). In addition the community leader claimed that women had been involved in developing the school development plan – a SESP requirement (Kaduna researchers' notes, 24th March 2009). However this was contradicted by two female community leaders who said that women were not involved in the development of the school plan and hadn't attended any SBMC meetings themselves (Kaduna researchers' notes, 24th March 2009). The SBMC minutes show that there are two female members, the head girl and a women's organisation representative, but there is only evidence of one woman – a different woman – actually attending meetings. According to the State Report:

The minutes show that one or 2 women attend meetings, yet the women themselves could not remember attending meeting once. Clearly, women just as children are SBMC members on paper (Akuto, 2009, 18).

This is clearly contrary to SESP focus on, and claims for, female representation on SBMCs and the school development planning process.

Women's participation in the SBMC is highly constrained, but in each of the research sites, that constraint operates differently. In these cases, a requirement for female membership in the guidelines does not ensure women's inclusion on the one hand; on the other, women's inclusion in membership does not ensure their attendance at meetings. Finally, their attendance at meetings does not ensure that they will be able to influence the proceedings. This ties in with Cornwall & Goetz's observation that simply including, or increasing numbers of women on a committee will ensure their participation, or that gender issues will be addressed.

It is also clear that gender concerns differ enormously from state to state and from case to case. The Lagos case studies demonstrate that through a combination of factors including the introduction of SBMCs, the abolition of PTA levies, the clustering of SBMCs so that meeting attendance involves travel, there is a tendency for SBMC membership to be difficult for certain groups of women and men, especially younger women in the case of Lagos. In Kaduna and Kano however, the issues are very different and it is more of a struggle for women to be present at the SBMC as a forum and to have their voices heard.

The role of women on SBMCs

Despite the barriers to women's membership, some women do become SBMC members. The research explored how their role is perceived. There is often a tacit assumption that women members will act in the interests of women, which resonates with Cornwall & Goetz's 'conflation of identity with identification' (Cornwall and Goetz, 2005: 797).

In the research data, this conflation often took a very specific form, a variation of the 'sensitisation' discourse – that is, women's role is to 'sensitise' other women to the importance and value of education. In Kano State, a Deputy Director was of the view that women's role on SBMCs was minimal 'due to their low educational level'. For example at Kumbotso, the women's leader said that the role of women on the SBMC was to represent the women's group and to enlighten other women (Kano researchers' notes, 31st March 2009), while at Waje, the Headteacher said that women's role is to sensitise women on education, religion and politics (Kano researchers' notes, 24th March 2009). A female teacher at Waje said the role of women is to enlighten other women on the importance of education, to improve girls' enrolment, and to provide incentives for teachers (Kano researchers' notes, 24th March 2009). This suggests a limited role for women, concerned with women's issues, but also constructs women as ignorant. This links to Rose's concern that the mass implementation of community participation strategies may be leading to the 'entrenchment and reinforcement of gender relations' (Rose, 2003a) and other inequalities.

The case of Zaria illustrates some of the complexities of women's participation in the SBMC, and its link to broader questions of inclusion. In Kaduna, the director Policy Research Services (PRS) said that 'women present the concerns of women and their children in the meeting' and 'they report on SBMC decisions to women from house to house' (Kaduna researchers' notes, 18th March 2009). The Zaria SBMC chair relates the actions that the SBMC has undertaken in relation to girls education. It has conducted 'sensitisation of women' on the importance of girls' education; sensitisation of the community on the disadvantages of removing young girls from school for marriage; and all pupils have been supplied with exercise books, pencils, sharpeners and cleaners through the SESP grant. As a result, he says, attendance has improved, especially of girls, enrolment has increased and some drop-outs have returned to school (Kaduna researchers' notes, March 2009). The community leader said that the role of women members is to sensitise other women on the importance of education, encourage women to send their children to school (Kaduna researchers' notes, 24th March 2009).

Although this presents a positive picture, at the same school, the two female Islamiya teachers, one of whom is also a volunteer teacher at Zaria school, presented a different picture. They first heard about the SBMC from the Headteacher, who sent the PTA PRO to invite them to the school, so they went and the Headteacher explained everything to them. They understand the main role of the SBMC as being to carry out repairs to the school, to solve other problems and carry out projects, and to assist the poor children with writing supplies. The women members mobilise women to send their children to school (Kaduna researchers' notes, 24th March 2009). They say that Zaria school is fairly good, but that men do not allow girls to go to school freely because 'education for a female child ends in the kitchen' (Kaduna researchers' notes, 24th March 2009). This points to persistent social and cultural norms that act as a barrier to girls accessing school. They say that the SBMC has in fact not done anything in particular to promote girls education, apart from general mobilisation of communities to send their children, although the Headteacher himself continuously encourages parents to allow their daughters to go to school (Kaduna researchers' notes, 24th March 2009).

Nevertheless, the Zaria case also gives an example of how women use the opportunities offered by the research, and SBMC policy, to claim their space. During the feedback meeting, a group of women requested permission from village elders to establish a women's NGO. According to the state report, women felt excluded from the SBMC and

expressed a strong desire to have a female only organisation through which they can address their personal development needs, contribute to the development of the community and the school in particular. This request along with another on attendance of adult education for women was formally presented by women through the research team during the community feedback (Akuto, 2009, 14)

This request was accepted, and could well be a first step towards women claiming a place on the SBMC on their own terms. Women, then, are unlikely to be able to participate on SBMCs in contexts where women's public participation is highly constrained, although SBMC policy and programming interventions may be able to support them in claiming a space.

Researching gender and community participation

The challenges of researching women's participation in SBMC is illustrated by the case of Kwara state, where gender concerns more broadly were largely dismissed by the researchers and informants. Two key discourses around gender are discernible in the State Report. One is that there are no gender issues in relation to enrolment, attendance and achievement at the school. The other is that women on the SBMC are fully involved. In terms of girls' schooling, for example, according to the State Report the female teacher said that 'There is no problem of parental preference to what child is sent to school [boy or girl]'. In this community, women are said to be rich because of their income from farming (Onibon, 2009, 17). People were proud to mention that Kaiama has a female representative in the house of representatives – Maimunat Adaji (PDP representative since 2007, she was formerly vice-chair Kaiama LGA and education officer). Enrolment figures suggest some interesting gender imbalances in enrolment that were not noted or questioned by researchers. The figures show that although there is almost gender parity in overall enrolment, there are significant differences from year to year. Classes 2 and 4, for example, have significantly more girls than boys, while classes 1, 3 and 5 had more boys than girls. It is interesting that these disparities were not mentioned by any of the interviewees. According to the report, the Headteacher said that women play a very active role on the SBMC, while the SBMC chairman said that women 'contribute to a very large extent to decision making' (Onibon, 2009, 15).

At Adabata, as at Borgu, no gender issues were identified by interviewees or members of the research team. For example, the research team emphasised girls' participation in the state report as follows: 'The participation of girls in school activity is very good; there are adequate number of girls and boys in school, and the pupils are represented on the School Based Management Committee [SBMC]' (Onibon, 2009, 26). In addition, the State Report notes that the school band is all female: 'the school band is made up of girls who beat drums and other musical instruments on assembly ground every day' (Onibon, 2009, 27). According to a female teacher, 'No significant disparity was noted in the class register, as parents in Adabata do not discriminate over who to send to school. All their children [boys and girls] are enrolled to go to school' (Onibon, 2009, 35). However, this is at odds with observations of

class enrolment numbers which indicate some gender disparities in enrolment: only 335 of 713 enrolled were girls (47%).

In terms of women on the SBMC, the research team did not identify any particular barriers to women's participation. According to the State Report there are women on the committee, and '[t]hese women play active roles at meetings' (Onibon, 2009, 32). In addition the Headteacher is quoted as saying that 'Women are on the SBMC in Adabata, they contribute their quota as mothers. They contribute in discussions and give useful suggestions' (Onibon, 2009, 34). According to the female teacher 'There are women on the SBMC, they play same role as men, monitoring the work of artisans on the construction site within the school premises and joining the team for purchase of materials' (Onibon, 2009, 36). The women's group leader (who is also SBMC member) interviewed according to the State Report thinks that the role of women on SBMC is 'awareness raising in the community' (Onibon, 2009, 38). This suggests that women are not necessarily confined to gender-specific roles.

The occasionally problematic approach of the researchers in the case of Kwara is illustrated by this comment on the mothers' focus group discussion at Borgu: 'The 8 mothers that participated in this discussion were illiterates; they also were not responsive to learning the process of discussing the issues using the Venn diagram' (Onibon, 2009, 22). This comment seems to reflect an attitude on the part of the researchers which echoes that of state and local authority officials, that illiterate women are not capable of engaging with school management issues and articulating their opinions. Women, then, face a double burden both as women and as those more likely to be illiterate.

At Maigateri, there is evidence from the meeting minutes of women speaking. For example, in the 5th meeting (8th May 2006), one woman

Promises to purchase two dozen brooms to school for sweeping the school premises. In addition to that one woman stood and advises her women group to be care on the cleanliness of their houses and their children and to take care on their pupils about their studies. This make them to be fully aware of their pupils education. Likewise Hajja Jaru (Women's Group Chair) continue by demanding a permission for creating a sanitation exercise among the women in their respective houses for cleanliness of their surrounding. (Maigateri Primary School SBMC, 2006).

However it must be noted that in this case, women's interventions are focused on what are traditionally seen as women's domain: cleaning and sanitation. In addition, although three women are said to have spoken, only two are listed in the meeting minutes, suggesting that their contributions are not always recorded, and therefore not valued. During the 6th meeting (September 2006), one of the women members said that 'more orientation' of the women was required, so a sub-committee of four women members was formed. There is further mention of the women's group in the 9th meeting (February 2007) in that they are congratulated for their progress in the learning of sewing and the provision of a grinding machine 'and the community are benefitting from it' (Maigateri Primary School SBMC, 2007). This suggests that women are included but on a limited basis, linked to activities that are understood to be in women's domain.

This detailed analysis of SBMC meeting minutes calls into question the 'zero-sum' model of power where communities are 'lowers' with no power, and authorities are 'uppers' with all the power. Rather,

it demonstrates how power flows, and is manipulated within the participatory space, with individuals pushing and shaping the agenda, and their own engagement, drawing on a variety of sources. The main tendency seems to be however that it is risky for women to go outside their designated roles.

Occupying the participatory space

Given the fact that despite the barriers to women's participation outlined above, some women do participate, this leads us to questions of how women negotiate their positions in the SBMC. The Nigerian political tradition is highly gendered, male dominated with a few exceptions. These exceptions – high profile female politicians in high office – very often have a dynastic link. Kwara state provides us with a good example, in candidate for State Governor Gbemisola Rukola Saraki, sister of former Governor Dr Bukola Saraki and daughter of former governor Olusola Saraki.

Women leaders and representatives do not necessarily pursue women's interests. Borgu provides an example of this with a female political leader using the language of participation in relation to SBMC, while it is clear that she is not herself familiar with its workings; she is complicit with the elite who make decisions about the school (Kwara researchers notes, March 2009). Where committees are dictated by local government or project orders, 'those who fill the space may be 'gatekeepers' of power in their communities and reproduce existing relations of exclusion' (Cornwall, 2002, 53).

Inclusion and exclusion of the wider community

Women in the wider community are often excluded from the SBMC. At Zaria, the SBMC chair claimed that wide consultation within the community was conducted in relation to the School development Plan. However this is contradicted by two women teachers and SBMC members who were interviewed; although they are aware of the School Development Plan they weren't consulted; in fact, they were informed about it after the event (Researchers' notes, Kaduna, March 2009). They know that the SBMC met with community members but are not aware of the content of the plan (Researchers' notes, Kaduna, March 2009). In fact, it turns out that they have not attended any SBMC meetings themselves. The impression that women are excluded from SBMC was confirmed at a meeting of mothers of children at the school. They had heard of the SBMC but said that it does not communicate its decisions to them (Researchers' notes, Kaduna, March 2009). A group of fathers however was much more aware and said that SBMC communicates its decisions to the PTA (Researchers' notes, Kaduna, March 2009). This gives the impression that between SBMC and PTA, women are excluded.

Women are not however the only community members who experience exclusion from the SBMC. At Borgu, the majority of men who participated in discussions were ignorant about the formation process of SBMC in the community, thus calling into question the inclusivity of the feedback meeting. In addition, discussions with parents and children revealed that women and pupils were not present at SBMC meetings. The minutes show that one or two women attend meetings, yet women members themselves could not recall attending any meetings at all.

There is no real evidence in any of the cases for SBMCs actively working towards a more inclusive sense of community, or reaching out to include more marginalised members. In some of the cases, SBMCs are controlled by elites, perhaps including traditional rulers, local government officials and in some cases Headteachers. This type of arrangement is characterised by a view that seems to discount the value of wider community contributions and in fact sees the wider community in need of 'sensitisation' as to the true value of education. In other cases, there is engagement with a limited section of the community through consultation, more likely to be better educated, higher status, male. This type of arrangement is characterised by a view that the SBMC serves the school and/or the LGA and therefore requires a certain level of education. What is missing here is also of interest – any mention of the SBMC's role in representing the wider community.

Conclusions

SBMC policy and strategy in Nigeria is explicitly aimed towards tackling EFA goals and addressing gender inequalities in education. Training programmes are targeted towards those states with the greatest gender gaps, and there are reserved seats for women on the SBMCs. The research data has shown however the multiple ways in which women continue to be excluded from taking an active role on SBMCs; these represent a complex mixture of local, national and global factors. Strategies that start from a thorough analysis of gender issues at local, state and national are therefore required.

Women's participation in SBMCs is highly constrained, in many cases, and a requirement for female membership in the guidelines does not ensure women's inclusion on the one hand; on the other, that women's inclusion in membership does not ensure their attendance at meetings. Finally, their attendance at meetings does not ensure that they will be able to influence the proceedings. This ties in with Cornwall and Goetz's observation that simply including, or increasing numbers of women on a committee will ensure their participation or that gender issues will be addressed. There is also a tacit assumption that women SBMC members will act in the interests of women.

This suggests that the links between gender, community participation and education are highly complex and that the ways in which women tend to be excluded are multiple. The case studies show how well-intentioned gender policies have been subverted and derailed by the gendered nature of those structures. Thus, new spaces can themselves become sites of exclusion, where existing gender inequalities are reproduced and reinforced. SBMC, as with other participatory spaces, are themselves sites where power is exercised, and from which power is drawn, as participants negotiate their positions within them.

It is important to note however that women are not the only group subject to exclusion from membership and participation in the SBMC. In many of the research sites, members of the wider community, men and women, as well as school staff, students and young people had no knowledge of the SBMC and had not been given the opportunity to participate. In particular, it appears that poor and illiterate women are most likely to be excluded, suggesting that gender as well as literacy and socio-economic status combine to exclude women from participation in SBMCs. This reinforces the fact that

participatory processes are embedded in local, national and international power structures, and they require a broader assessment of gendered power relations (Cooke and Kothari, 2001).

Chapter 9: Conclusion

This thesis has been concerned with an approach to international development programming that is inherently problematic. That is, an approach which relies on community participation as a vehicle for development. The starting point for this enquiry is the conundrum, observed over many years as a development researcher and practitioner, that international development agencies and national governments continue to pursue policies that rely on community participation in the form of community based organisations, despite the fact that there is limited or inconclusive evidence of whether and how this approach works, whether what works is judged in terms of educational outcomes or other individual or community-based measures of development. Another way of posing the question is to ask why community participation as an approach in development policy and practice has such durability, and the power to sustain what appears to be a misplaced faith over a long period of time.

In order to investigate this conundrum, the thesis looks at the case of SBMCs in Nigeria. The research questions focused on exploring SBMC policy and its enactment with a particular focus on what ideas about community they carry and create. This involved exploring how policies are understood, interpreted and enacted by key policy actors at federal, state, local government, school and community levels. The study looked in particular at the implications of the ways in which SBMC policy has been enacted for questions of gender and inclusion.

The main findings are that in Nigeria, community does not always have the strongly positive normative values that it tends to carry for some groups and within certain political discourses in the UK and the USA. In examining the history and practice of community participation in education in Nigeria, I noted that a dark side of community has been seen to surface frequently, and has been used by political leaders for purposes that were often manipulative and served the interests of authoritarian leaders, rather than the interests of the population.

There has been an increasing focus on community, and community management of schools in Nigerian education policy over the last twenty years, culminating in the current Guidance Note for SBMCs (Federal Ministry of Education with UNICEF, 2005) which outlines a system of SBMCs, their membership, roles and responsibility in detail. However, at a moment where there is a plethora of policy documents on education, the focus on SBMCs is highly erratic: that is, in some policy documents SBMCs are strongly emphasised, while in others they are absent. The focus on SBMCs has coincided with a period of crisis in the education sector, where growing enrolment has not been matched by increased resources and improved quality of teaching and learning. At the same time, international development co-operation partners have promoted the community participation agenda very strongly. However a lack of clarity about the purpose of SBMCs is evident in the policy. This appears to be linked to the fact that competing narratives about SBMCs emphasise contrasting purposes and do not mediate perceptions by different actors – SBMCs are presented, at the same time, to save costs; improve educational outcomes; or contribute to more democratic governance of schools and communities.

Informants tended to view SBMCs very differently, depending on their position in the system, whether at federal, state, local government, school or community level. There were many similarities horizontally across the case studies, and many differences vertically. At federal level, informants were concerned with the way that SBMCs could help to ease inequities in the system and could save the system money. There was clear articulation at this level of the influence of international organisations, including UNICEF and the debt relief fund on SBMC policy. At state level, tensions between state and federal level were revealed by the fact that informants often referred to SBMC as a federal agenda, with the implication that it was imposed at state level. This was more so in Kaduna and Kano, and perhaps less so in Kwara and Jigawa, while Lagos pursued a slightly different policy of clustered SBMCs; indicative of the very different context and approach to policy enactment in each of the states. At local government level the extreme lack of resources becomes evident; in addition the fact that SBMC policy is imposed partially explains the lack of incentives for local government to take this forward. At school level I identified three main strategies that were taken in terms of enactment of this policy. SBMC policy was either ignored; or it was enacted on paper; or it was absorbed into existing institutions at school level, in particular the PTA. From a gender and inclusion perspective, this meant that in the case study schools, SBMCs tended to reinforce the status quo, rather than provide opportunities for women and marginalised groups to participate actively in school management that were assumed.

Although the findings of the study are specific to Nigeria, my conclusions have resonance for aid policy and relationships more broadly. My overall conclusion is that the explanation for the persistence of community participation as an approach lies in the gap between what international development aid claims to do, and what it actually does. That is, that in this case while one of the objectives of SBMC is to '[p]rovide communities and LGEAs with a new mechanism through which they can demand accountability from school managers (i.e. Head-teacher)' (Federal Ministry of Education with UNICEF, 2005, 5) the data across the case studies indicate that people who are not part of the SBMC, and even in some cases the majority of SBMC members, are not aware of the SBMC, are not invited to participate, and if they are invited, their voices are not heard. So while community participation *claims* to empower communities, in this case, it may in fact perpetuate the status quo, and enable elites in villages, local and national governments, as well as within the aid industry, to maintain their positions. I base this conclusion on the data coming out of my study in relation to policy, context, conceptual and methodological findings. I outline these factors in the form of four assertions, below, where I draw on data from this study, elaborate on my thinking, and then outline the implications.

Community participation persists in international aid policy because policy makers do not prioritise the interests and needs of the individuals towards whom policy is directed, but use the powerful idea of community engagement to gain legitimacy.

Community participation policies and interventions serve a number of possible purposes, which may be explicit or tacit. The purpose may be to strengthen and promote the rights of people to have a say in decisions which affect them, and to support them in holding government and service providers to account. However, the purpose may be an instrumental one in favour of improved service delivery, for

example increased school enrolment, or improved teacher attendance. The purpose may also be to save government money by making poor people responsible for maintaining, supplying and even constructing schools.

This study demonstrates how, in the case of SBMC policy, a number of these purposes can co-exist and that people view SBMCs very differently, depending on their position in the system, whether at federal, state, local government, school or community level. However, the work of development agencies documented in this study focuses on a technocratic and instrumentalist fashion on community-based institutions: that is, what they can do for technocratic objectives such as increased enrolment or achievement, rather than intrinsic participatory or democratic 'good governance' objectives. At federal level, informants were concerned with the way that SBMCs could help to ease inequities in the system and could save the system money. There was clear articulation at this level of the influence of international organisations, including UNICEF and Debt Relief funds on SBMC policy. At state level, tensions between state and federal level were revealed by the fact that informants often referred to SBMC policy as a federal agenda, with the implication that it was imposed at state level. This was more so in Kaduna and Kano, and perhaps less so in Kwara and Jigawa, while Lagos pursued a slightly different policy of clustered SBMCs; indicative of the very different context and approach to policy enactment in each of the states. At local government level the extreme lack of resources becomes evident; in addition the fact that SBMC policy is imposed by letter partially explains the lack of incentives for local government to take this forward.

The implications of this are that the purposes of, barriers to, and incentives for the introduction of community participation policy and interventions need to be made explicit by development actors, with a stronger focus on ensuring that it meets the needs of those with less power and voice – children and their parents, teachers and members of user committees themselves.

Community participation persists in international aid policy because insufficient attention is paid in delivering policy and supporting to practice to local context, and in particular the politics and power dynamics of local context. This is linked to an assumption that policy enactment is primarily a technically driven linear process.

The international development interventions documented in this study apply broad-brush approaches to development to very different contexts without incorporating ways to flex and adapt approaches to ensure that at the very least they do not do harm, or at best, to ensure that they strengthen and support existing systems, individuals and organisations that are working to make space for greater voice of local people in decision-making processes, and greater accountability of state and other institutions. This seems to be underpinned by the assumption that the state is either value-free or that it by definition works in the interests of its citizens. Although a political 'turn' is taking place (as evidenced by the proposed new post-2015 MDG agenda with a stress on governance (UN, 2013), a discourse where technical fixes take precedence over nuanced approaches based on a thorough understanding of context remains dominant. I would go further and say that participation and the notion of community

is used as a political tool by governments, donors and development projects, rather than as a means to open up spaces for more inclusive processes of development. The key question then becomes 'how can we use community based organisations to further our organisational objectives', rather than 'how can we work with people to achieve development objectives, as defined by them?'

The case of Nigeria provides a strong challenge to these assumptions, because of the particular moment the country was at, when the research was conducted in 2009. Nigeria was in the process of enacting the universal SBMC policy, supported by a range of multilateral and bilateral development agencies. Nigeria has a history of assertive foreign policy and the ability to hold donors at arm's length. This made for a rich and sometimes tense politics in the relationships between Nigeria and development agencies. In addition, Nigeria has a complex federal state and politically charged and sometimes dysfunctional relationships between federal, state and local government. Finally, relationships between Nigerian citizens and the state are complex and evolving, in a young democracy, and with a history of poor governance and mutual distrust. The focus on SBMCs has coincided with a period of crisis in the education sector, where growing enrolment has not been matched by increased resources and improved quality of teaching and learning.

The case studies also demonstrate how at school level, policy actors respond to and shape the enactment of SBMC in three main ways. SBMC policy was either ignored; or it was enacted on paper; or it was absorbed into existing institutions at school level, in particular the PTA. From a gender and inclusion perspective, this meant that in the case study schools, SBMCs tended to reinforce the status quo, rather than provide opportunities for women and marginalised groups to participate actively in school management that were assumed.

A clear finding is the way that SBMC policy as implemented through the ESSPIN project has limited room for manoeuvre in terms of adapting to the specific local context. Part of what is lost is the ability to influence and change specific local power relationships and constellations of elites. This aligns with critiques of participatory development that emphasise its depoliticisation and co-option by development bureaucracies. I should emphasise here that my critique is of the *technologies, discourses and projects* of community participation: that is, the guidelines and manuals and frameworks, the trainings, planning tools, reports, logframes and other practices that constitute a project such as ESSPIN. I strongly support the principle that people, regardless of their socio-economic situation, gender, political alignment, literacy status, ethnicity, age or religion have the right to participate in decisions that affect their lives and those of their children. However, the term community is imprecise and carries with it assumptions and values that are rarely made explicit.

Community therefore requires translation in each context. In most of the cases in my research, community actually referred to the male elders of the village or locality, including the customary chief, local government officials and their associates. In the light of the observation that communities are by definition exclusive, it is not surprising therefore that policies and interventions that seek to promote broad-based participation using communities as a vehicle will end up simply shoring up existing

relationships and power dynamics, rather than challenging them. Further still, I contend that such policies actually contribute to the creation of exclusive structures.

The implications are, I argue, that there is a somewhat limited focus in the literature on micro-level analysis of participatory, community-based institutions that takes into account local power dynamics and political processes. We need a better understanding of such processes, and better tools for capturing and designing development programmes that take them into account, otherwise participatory development risks being under-resourced and insufficiently understood: as a development intervention, it is set up to fail.

Community participation persists in international aid policy because the majority of methodological approaches fail to open up the black box of community, and challenge the assumptions underpinning it.

One of the ways in which the notion of community acts as a powerful and in some ways obstructive construct is that time and time again in research and evaluations, it is treated as a homogeneous analytical unit. Evaluations and research tend to be commissioned by, and therefore exist within, the discursively bounded project and its objectives. In such types of enquiry, questions are asked as to whether community participation is present, and whether community based organisations are present or active. Responses are usually sought by elites – headteachers, and SBMC officials, rather than from members of the wider community who have little voice. In this way, assumptions are rarely challenged. Much of what is known about the effects of programming with and through community-based institutions derives from narrowly-defined, outcome-focused evaluations of development programming. In this way, little is known about the effect of development interventions over the longer term from the perspective of particular communities and sites, and beyond the objectives of specific time-bound programmes.

By looking in detail, where data was available, at membership of SBMCs and participation in their meetings, this research demonstrated how narrow-based participation in SBMCs is and how exclusive their processes, despite a policy and project discourse that suggested otherwise.

The implication of this would be to consider complementary research or different types of evaluation linked to questioning the overall effect of multiple factors on development in particular locations. This would also enable us to ask why in some locations, transformatory change has happened either within the spaces opened up by development programming, or without it, or despite it. That is, to ask broader questions about how people's lives have changed, why, and in what circumstances. This is broader than impact evaluation which tends to look at what has changed, and what has been the contribution of development programming. For example, it will be important to elucidate some of the ways in which development actors can better incorporate analysis of the political realities at grassroots level - including processes of inclusion and exclusion – into programme planning. Research can help to do this by ensuring that the voices of key actors are more systematically gathered and better heard by policy makers.

Community participation persists in international aid policy because the concept of community, with its strong normative values, encourages people to suspend their critical judgement.

The idea of community, particularly in certain UK and US political discourses, carries with it strong normative values. Community is assumed to be 'a good thing' and by extension, any policy or intervention with community at its heart must also be a good thing. Policy processes, in addition, are not linear, and individuals play a key role in the interpretation and enactment of policies, in a way that will tend to support, rather than change the status quo.

The key findings from my research provide a challenge to this assumption. In examining the history and practice of community participation in education in Nigeria, I noted that a dark side of community has been seen to surface frequently, and has been used by political leaders for purposes that were often manipulative and served the interests of authoritarian leaders, rather than the interests of the population.

The implication of this is that development actors including governments, aid agencies and NGOs should avoid designing, enacting, implementing and evaluating policies and interventions that are focused on communities as a unit of analysis and intervention. Policies and interventions that are focused on a group of people should describe the membership of that group in precise terms. For example, instead of community, an intervention could refer to all parents, men and women, of children in a particular school or all adult male and female residents of a particular local government area.

In stating these conclusions I draw on, and align myself with, a critical tradition in international development and education thinking and practice. This is concerned with the struggle to make visible and tangible the discursive regime of the development project and its tendency to invoke the vehicle of community based organisations. In developing this theoretical position, the critical tradition in education policy research has been important and inspirational. Underpinned by a Foucauldian analysis of power and governmentality, this tradition looks at what appear to be benign policy interventions (for example increased parental choice) and reveals the ways in which policy discourses appear to increase choice while at the same time restricting it. Feminist perspectives on the state and institutions have thrown into sharp relief the assumptions underpinning this type of policy making. Applying a similar lens to community participation in international development programming – and then testing the proposition in the case of Nigeria – has thrown new light on a field which is dominated by debate and study that exists within the discursive regime of the project.

Although this study has focused on the education sector, the focus has been primarily on the policies and practices of international development. Nevertheless, conducting the study in the field of education has been fruitful for a number of reasons. Firstly, because it has enabled the study to draw on the rich critical scholarship on education in western contexts as outlined above. Would the course of the study, its findings and these conclusions have been similar had I focused on community participation another sector, for example health, road or water and sanitation, or are there ways in which community participation in the education sector is unique? I can only hypothesise, but it may be that education, like

community participation, is normatively constructed as quintessentially good, when the evidence before our eyes is that schools may be equally capable of causing harm as good to children. The processes of teaching and learning are intangible, incremental and mysterious, unlike the process of sinking a well and building a road. Is community participation in education therefore uniquely subject to the possibility of sustaining misplaced faith over time? This brings me back to the striking impression that I had in Kaiama of looking at what appeared to be a school – an organisation with classrooms, bells, a library, teachers and pupils – and therefore I assumed it was a school – until I started to ask the question of what purpose it actually played in that area, in addition to, or even instead of, providing a space for teaching and learning.

Although in some ways the Kaiama snapshot offers a bleak perspective on the possibility of schools as essentially corrupted institutions that serve the interests of the powerful elite, rather than the interests of the boys and girls who attend the school, their parents and the wider community, I remain at the same time optimistic. In the ten years since I started this enquiry, I have the impression that the research has got smarter, the solutions offered more nuanced. There is some evidence of the possibility of transformative change. Although important to question and critique the policy and practice of community participation in education, I remain convinced that it is important to engage in the debate about participatory development, that as an approach it remains useful and potentially transformative, and that the tensions that I have explored in this thesis are also the reason why there is room for optimism.

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Appendix 1: Research proposal

School Based Management Committees (SBMCS) in policy and practice in Nigeria

Background

Rationale

The problems of Nigeria's education system are well documented. There is poor access to education, particularly for girls and the poorest citizens. Net primary school attendance was only 64% for boys and 57% for girls in 2003. In the north in particular, the situation is worse – only 34% of girls attend school²⁵. For those who do have access, the quality of education is poor²⁶.

School Management Committees are promoted in international and national development policy as a way to improve the quality of education provision and to promote democracy at the local level.

International experience suggests that SBMCs can, in certain conditions, be linked to improvements but the evidence is limited and in some cases contradictory.

In Nigeria, recent changes in education policy have sought to introduce School Based Management Committees (SBMCs) across the country. A number of different programmes and initiatives have been supporting the establishment and functioning of SBMCs (e.g. GEP, ActionAid, CSACEFA, CAPP projects). There is, however, a lack of research on whether and how SBMC policy is being implemented on the ground, and what effect SBMCs are having on communities and on schools.

The DfID-supported Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria (ESSPIN) project provides an important opportunity to review what has been done so far and what shape future support to SBMCs might take. This research, therefore, seeks to clarify how this policy is understood at different levels of the system, and how it is enacted on the ground with particular attention to implications for gender, poverty and the provision of quality education.

Brief overview of the literature

Recent years have seen an increased focus on community participation in education in international development policy and practice. Bray²⁷ suggests that this increase should be seen in the context of a worldwide shift by the 1980s towards privatisation in the public sector, including education, because government operations were seen as inefficient and unresponsive to changing circumstances. One of the reasons why the trend towards community-based solutions was attractive to governments was that it meant parents, communities and civil society taking on some of the financial and other burdens of education. In terms of outcomes, Bray notes positive results in terms of recruitment, retention and attendance of pupils, and improved learning outcomes. However, his findings indicate that there are aspects of school effectiveness where community impact is limited, for example in supply and training of teachers. He further notes that community participation can increase geographical and social disparities between communities, 'because the groups that are already advantaged are in a better position to help themselves than the disadvantaged groups'.

Rose's²⁸ study of the impact that community participation has had on improving gender equity in educational outcomes in sub-Saharan Africa indicates a mixed picture. There is evidence that *under the right conditions* community participation can contribute to increased rates of enrolment for girls. However, there is limited evidence for improved achievement and transition. Indeed, 'As an end in itself, community participation in schooling appears to have resulted in an entrenchment and reinforcement of gender relations, rather than empowering those traditionally excluded from more genuine aspects of participation'.

Burde²⁹ notes that approaches to community participation in education are often not well implemented and have unrealistic aims and objectives. It is 'a complex tool that can be manipulated in multiple ways to varying effect... To the extent that it works to increase the efficiency and quality of social services,

²⁵ World Bank. (2005). *Empowering people by transforming institutions: Social development in World Bank operations*.

²⁶ Federal Government of Nigeria. (2004). *Nigeria: National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy*. Abuja, Nigeria: National Planning Commission.

²⁷ Bray, M. (2000). *Community Partnerships in Education: Dimensions, Variations and Implications*. *EFA thematic study*. Dakar.

²⁸ Rose, P. (2003). *Communities, gender and education: Evidence from sub-Saharan Africa*. *Background paper for 2003 UNESCO Global Monitoring Report*.

²⁹ Burde, D. (2004). "Weak state, strong community? Promoting community participation in post-conflict countries." *Current issues in comparative education* 6(2).

participation may provide a patchwork solution to systemic problems, veiling more profound and contentious issues of structural change and political representation'. Burde therefore argues that community participation should complement and check the state, not replace it. In summary, the evidence from these selected sources suggests that the impact of community participation as a strategy is mixed, with a strong indication of the need to retain a focus on understanding the communities as unique and differentiated, if school management committees and other community participation initiatives are to be successful. The other indication is that community participation strategies are not the solution to educational problems; but they might be useful as part of a range of strategies to tackling complex problems. A more comprehensive review of the national and international literature will be required to confirm these early conclusions.

The theoretical approach of this study draws on critical policy analysis, gender theory and critical approaches to community. For example, it will employ the concept of recontextualisation³⁰: that is, the ways in which policies change when they interact with new contexts. Crucial to this is an analysis of 'fields of contest', that is, the disputes and conflicts that take place at national, local and institutional levels, their changing relationships and their inter-penetration³¹. It is also informed by literature on gender and development which views an understanding of the gendered power relations as crucial to analysing and understanding institutions. In addition the research is informed by a critical approach to the concept of community; that is, one that questions a unitary and homogeneous view of community.

Research questions

- What are the key policies around SBMCs in Nigeria, and how are they understood by key stakeholders at federal, state, local government, school and community levels?
- How have these policies been 'enacted' at school and community level?
- What are the implications of the ways in which SBMC policy has been implemented for questions of gender, poverty and school governance?
- What strategies do the findings suggest for future ESSPIN research and engagement with SBMCs?

Methodology

Phase 1: Literature review

A review of the literature on the impact and effectiveness of community participation initiatives, including SBMCs, in Nigeria will be conducted. This review will feed into the Situational Analysis of Basic Education Service Delivery in Nigeria, to be conducted as part of the research strategy for the inception phase.³²

Phase 2: Setting up the research.

During this preliminary phase, TORs for the field researchers will be developed, and field and state researchers will be recruited; detailed methodology and tools will be developed, researchers will be trained and tools will be piloted. Training and piloting will take place in one of the study states.

Phase 3: Field research

Field research will be conducted in Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Kwara and Lagos states. This will be a qualitative piece of research because it seeks to explore what is happening and why at school community level in relation to SBMCs. In-depth case studies will be conducted in two communities in each of the four study states – 10 case studies in total. These case studies will use a mixture of methodological approaches including interviews, observation and participatory research to develop a detailed SBMC, school and community profiles. These profiles will help to clarify questions about who SBMC members are, what kind of activities they are involved in and why, how they see their roles, and what relationships exist between SBMC members, different community members, teachers, parents and others. We envisage the development of a SBMC profiling 'tool' which could be used more broadly and/or used to revisit these communities over a period of time to track changes.

³⁰ See e.g. Bernstein, B. (1990). *The structuring of pedagogic discourse*. London, Routledge.

³¹ Ball, S. (1998). Big Policies/Small World: An Introduction to International Perspectives in Education Policy. *Comparative Education*, 34(2).

³² Akyeampong, K. (2009). *Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria (ESSPIN). Research strategy for inception phase*. Abuja: ESSPIN. See Annex A for draft literature review questions.

A crucial element of this research will be the opportunity it presents for capacity building within state ministries of education and Local Government Authorities (LGAs). The research will therefore be conducted by one state/LGA official (state researcher) and one field researcher, supported by State Consultants in each of the five states. Researchers will work in state-based pairs. Each pair will spend 5 days in each community, 3 days interviewing LGA & state officials, plus 2 days writing up time – i.e. 15 working days in each state.

At federal, state and local government level, semi-structured interviews will be conducted with government officials and representatives of NGOs and donor organisations to explore understandings of SBMC policy.

Phase 4: Analysis

Analysis will be conducted collaboratively over a 2-week period by the full research team,. This is based on the belief that research findings with a large team of researchers working in diverse contexts are best discussed collaboratively at the initial stage of analysis in order to make best use of the data.

Phase 5: Writing up

The writing of the final report will be led by the lead researcher, with assistance from the rest of the research team. A full report and summary report will be produced.

Phase 6: Dissemination & design/planning of follow up

The following outputs are planned:

- A presentation of preliminary findings will be made after the analysis phase in mid April, timed to feed into the inception report of ESSPIN.
- A full and summary report will be produced by end of July.
- A conference paper will be developed for UKFIET 2009 – effect of EFA on communities theme – to be lead by CR with support of LR. This may also be developed into a journal paper.
- There will be options to extend the research so that it can feed into ESSPIN research strategy & ESSPIN monitoring.

Annex A:

Draft questions for literature review

1 What are the different ways in which parents and community members have been involved in school management in the past, and why?

- Look at historical factors that shape present attitudes to community participation in schools especially the effects of military dictatorships & return of democracy
- Policy development
- Look at differences between states
- PTAs
- Other arrangements, formal or informal
- SBMCs formed as a result of the 2007 order but without support or training
- Look at key projects & initiatives that have included a focus on SBMCs or their precursors including Self Help, CUBE initiatives, GEP, CSACEFA, CAPP, ActionAid, government training & others.

2 What are the documented results of that involvement (and what remains undocumented), and why?

- What evaluations of projects and interventions mentioned in (1) are available?
- What indicators were used to monitor and evaluate SBMCs, with what results?
- What evidence, if any, is there that SBMCs had an impact on:
- Enrolment (by gender, poorer children)
- Achievement (by gender, poorer children)
- Participation of men, women, poorer community members in decision making
- What reasons, if any, are given for those impacts
- How convincing is the evidence?
- Where projects & initiatives have not been evaluated or documented, is any other evidence available (anecdotal, statistical, other)?
- Where projects and initiatives have finished is there evidence of any on-going impact, and if so, what?

3 What lessons can be drawn for future interventions?

- Structure, roles & responsibilities
- Systems of accountability
- Incentives
- Strategies that support enrolment, attendance, equity, participation

Appendix 2: Research teams

Jigawa

Michael W. Musa

Abubakar M. Nashabaru

Habiba Awwalu

Kano

Mohammed Kudu Bawa

Halima Ahmed

Baturiya Wada

Lagos

Jane Oladimeji Hughes

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Grace Akuto

Shehu R. Ibrahim

Sambo G. Yakubu

Kwara

Felicia Onibon

Funke Opadokun

Funke Bolaji

Appendix 3: Development workshop report and annexes

SBMC research report

3.1: TOR

3.2: Conceptual framework

3.3: Final tools (omitted – see Appendix 4)

3. 4: Training programme & material

3.5: Pilot reports

Education Sector Support Programme (ESSPIN)

Title of Report: SBMC Research

Report Number (completed by ESSPIN)

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Quality Assurance sheet (completed by ESSPIN)

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

ESSPIN	Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria
JSS	Junior Secondary School
LGA	Local Government Area
LGEA	Local Government Education Authority
SBMC	School Based Management Committee
SUBEB	State Universal Basic Education Board

Abstract

This is a report of a consultancy to set up research on School Based Management Committees (SBMCs) under Component 4 of ESSPIN. Five state research teams were orientated during the consultancy, and draft tools piloted. The outcome of the consultancy is a research manual, which is included as an annex to this report. The main phase of the research will be conducted from 16th March – 4th April 2009 in all five ESSPIN states.

Executive Summary

This is the report on a consultancy to set up SBMC research, conducted from 11th -23rd February 2009. The purpose of the consultancy was to develop detailed methodology and tools, train researchers, pilot the tools, review and finalise the tools and develop future plans.

Prior to arrival, the International Consultant had drafted a conceptual framework and tools. Meetings were held with five state research consultants, who will lead the research at state level, on Feb 15th – 16th to orientate them to the research. The tools were further developed according to their comments and suggestions. A piloting workshop was then held at Mumbayya House, Kano from 17th – 23rd February to train research teams, to pilot the tools and to plan for the main phase of the research. The tools were piloted in five schools in Kano state. Following this workshop and based on feedback and experiences from piloting, the International Consultant further amended and finalised the tools. The final outcome of the consultancy is a Research Manual and an agreed plan for the main phase of research.

During this process, concerns were raised about the small number of case studies in the proposed research and the long period of time (5 days) to be spent in each school. These concerns were addressed during the workshop and piloting. Some very interesting findings emerged through the piloting process, in particular around the representation of women on SBMCs and the functioning of SBMCs in relation to the power and authority of traditional leaders.

Agreement was reached with the research teams and State Team Leaders that the main phase of the research will be conducted from 16th March – 4th April 2009, and the analysis workshop will be conducted from 14th April – 19th April 2009.

Purpose of the Consultancy

The purpose of the consultancy was to set up the SBMC research. This included the development of detailed methodology and tools, training of researchers, piloting of tools, finalising of tools and the development of future plans.

Achievement of the terms of reference

TOR tasks	Progress made and agreements reached (with whom)	Proposed/ agreed follow up (by whom and when)
<u>Phase 1</u> A review of the literature on the impact and effectiveness of community participation initiatives, including SBMCs, in Nigeria will be conducted.	Ongoing	
<u>Phase 2</u> Methodology & research tools drafted	Done	-
Researchers trained	Done	-
Tools piloted	Done	-
Tools finalised	Done	
Plans for subsequent phases of the research will be agreed between the international consultant and ESSPIN	Done	Plans discussed with all State TLs except for Bolaji (Lagos).

Background

1. The School Based Management Committee research is a piece of qualitative research which seeks to clarify how this policy is understood at different levels of the system, and how it is enacted on the ground with particular attention to implications for gender, poverty and the provision of quality education (see Annex 1 for TORs).
2. The methodology is based on in-depth case studies in 10 schools in ESSPIN states, as well as interviews with key individuals at Federal, State, LGEA level and a literature review (see Annex 2 for conceptual framework; Annex 3 for research manual).
3. This phase of the research involved training 5 field teams, one for each ESSPIN state, and piloting the research methodology. Training and piloting took place over a 9-day period from 15th – 23rd February 2009 in Kano (see Annex 4 for training programme and materials). Each state team consisted of three people: a state research consultant, the ESSPIN state access & equity specialist, plus one field researcher and in some cases one SUBEB official. The training period consisted of 2 days orientation, followed by 5 days piloting and review, and one day for planning the main phase of the research.

Findings and Issues Arising

4. The methodological approach, conceptual framework and research tools were shared with State Research consultants and amended prior to piloting. One key issue that arose in was a concern about the small number of case studies and the length of time to be spent in each school. The rationale for selecting just 10 case studies is as follows. Much past research on school management committees internationally has been very superficial, involving perhaps a few questions posed to Headteacher and Chair. These studies tell us very little about how these institutions – upon which great expectations are heaped – actually function – i.e. who makes decisions; who holds the power? This research is conceived as an antidote to such research & starts from the assumption that there is conflict and difference at the community level which will be reflected in the operation of SBMCs and similar institutions. The methodology, which draws on ethnography, institutional analysis & PRA techniques, focuses on relationships within and between these institutions & requires the perspective of diverse stakeholders, including those with less influence and less voice.
5. This approach requires the use of a range of different tools and activities, with a range of different stakeholder groups, spread over a five day period. The long research period has been designed for the following reasons: 1) there is more chance of ‘shaking off’ influential guides e.g. LGEA representatives who tend to dominate discussions; 2) members of the school and community will become used to the researchers and will feel comfortable in their discussions; 3) time for reflection and analysis for researchers is built into each day so that when they return the next day, they can pursue issues arising; 4) there is time in the schedule for them to take advantage of opportunities that arise to pursue key issues or individuals; 5) there is time built in for a feedback meeting at which researchers share findings at a community meeting and invite feedback and questions, a which is good practice from an ethical perspective.
6. Some members of the research team expressed concern that the number of case studies is too small for the purposes of making generalisations. Their concerns were discussed at length and I have argued that 1) in order for a sample of primary schools to be representative in a statistical sense would require a very large sample indeed and that 2) since this is a qualitative study our concern is more with documenting the situation and linking it clearly to context: i.e. what works, where, and why. In addition, (3) a broader perspective will be introduced through the literature review and interviews with federal, state and LGEA representatives.
7. While for the most part, the research teams were well-balanced, the Jigawa team had no female member. During piloting this proved to be problematic and it was therefore agreed that an additional, female researcher would be recruited by the Jigawa Team Leader.
8. The research tools were piloted with the state research teams in five schools in Kano state. The teams then met in the afternoons to review methodological issues arising. Findings were

presented by each team at the end of the piloting process and each state consultant produced a report on the pilot (See Annex 5 for pilot reports).

9. Much rich and interesting material came out of the piloting process, including the following:

- Home-grown community-based education organisations: In at least two of the pilot schools, 'home-grown' community-based organisations were found to be operating with a focus on education. These organisations would not be picked up in a survey or research focused exclusively on SBMCs. This showed that our tools needed to broaden their focus and to focus at community level on the variety of organisations, including SBMCs, that deal with education. This is important in relation to ESSPIN strategy because it shows that SBMCs are not being introduced into a void; rather they must complement and work with existing organisations.
- Traditional authority and SBMCs: in Panda (Albasu LGA) the village head is a former LGA official, chair of the Panda Education Development Forum, chair of the SBMC, and with a clear and progressive vision for education in his village. Under his leadership, the problem of low transition of girls to Secondary schooling has been identified and addressed through the foundation of a girls' JSS. As a result, enrolment of girls in the area is high (anecdotally). However, no female membership of the SBMC is countenanced, because it is 'dangerous' for men and women to meet together. This is not a blanket ban however, since women who are teachers (including the Chief's sister) are allowed to attend PTA meetings. This presents the interesting paradox that while traditional leadership is by definition non-democratic and conservative, it can be used towards progressive goals (e.g. the education of girls), and suggests that SBMC strategy needs to work with traditional authority and to persuade it to focus in the direction of more equitable, higher quality education.

		Interventions	location
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- Representation of women on SBMCs: in all the pilot schools the requirement for women's representation was largely ignored. It would be simplistic to view this as simply a lack of information at school level; clearly it runs counter to cultural practices but the evidence suggests that it is not insurmountable. At Bechi Primary School (Kumbotso LGA) a meeting with the local Women Development Association revealed that the women were angry about the fact that they had no forum for discussing their concerns about the school or their children's education and very much wanted to participate in SBMC meetings, but had not been invited. Some members came to the feedback meeting which team members viewed as an extremely positive step.
- Change: in many of the pilot schools changes were initiated during the research process. For example at Bechi, re-elections were held as a direct result of the presence of the researchers.

10. Sampling: the selection of case study schools was discussed with the research teams. The following outline was agreed:

In

Kano 1	Primary	None	Peri-urban
Kano 2	Primary	SESP	Rural
Kaduna 1	Primary	SESP	Peri-urban
Kaduna 2	Primary	None	Rural
Kwara 1	Primary	SESP	Urban
Kwara 2	Primary	none	Rural
Jigawa 1	Primary	GEP 1	Rural
Jigawa 2	Primary	GEP 2	Rural
Lagos 1	Primary	COMPASS	Urban
Lagos 2	JSS	None	Urban

addition,

researchers were asked to avoid well resourced model primary schools and special primary schools.

11. The participation of SUBEB officials from Kano, Kaduna and Jigawa added a great deal of value to the piloting and tools development process. In addition it is clearly a positive indication of commitment to work in partnership with ESSPIN

Options and next steps

11. Plans: state teams developed detailed plans during the last day of the workshop. Overall plans were discussed directly with State Team Leaders (with the exception of Bolaji who was not contactable on the day) and an email sent (See Annex 6). In summary:

- The main phase of the research will be conducted 16th March – 4th April (see Annex 3: research manual for details)
- An analysis workshop for State Research Consultants will be held in Abuja 14th – 19th April.
- Next visit of the International consultant will be from 23rd – 28th March to Lagos and Kwara states to monitor the main phase of the research.
- The international consultant will plan to visit again from 13th – 22nd April for the purposes of analysis and presentation of preliminary findings.
- In addition an abstract will be submitted to the UKFIET conference by HP & FA for a presentation on “SBMC research in Nigeria: perspectives from research & implementation”.

Annexes

1. TORs
2. Conceptual framework
3. Final research manual
4. Training programme & materials
5. Pilot reports
6. Email to ESSPIN team leaders

Annex 1: Terms of Reference

Title of Assignment: School Based Management Committee Research

Location of Assignment: Abuja, Lagos, Kano, Kwara, Kaduna and Jigawa States

Duration: 75 days

Background

Despite the possession of considerable oil wealth, a rising population, inefficient government investment in front line public services and years of neglect have left the Nigerian education system in a poor state. Education indicators are amongst the lowest in Sub-Saharan Africa, particularly for girls. Currently it is estimated that there are 7-9 million school aged children not attending school, a disproportionate percentage of whom are girls.

Since legislation was passed in 2004 establishing nine-year compulsory Universal Basic Education, the main sectoral focus of Federal and State governments has been an expansion of basic education to meet the Millennium Development Goals. There has been a significant increase in investment in the basic education sector through State governments and through Federal sources such as the Universal Basic Education Commission (UBEC). Access remains a problem, as do the low quality of education outcomes and the stark inequities in the system.

The Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria (ESSPIN) is a six year DFID programme of education development assistance and is a part of a suite of programmes aimed at improvements in governance and the delivery of basic services. ESSPIN's aim is to have a sustainable impact upon the way in which government in Nigeria delivers education services and is directed at enabling institutions to bring about systemic change in the education system, leveraging Nigerian resources in support of State and Federal Education Sector Plans and building capacity for sustainability. It is currently operating in five States (Kano, Kaduna, Kwara, Jigawa and Lagos) and at the Federal level. ESSPIN builds upon previous technical assistance projects in education, in particular the Capacity for Universal Basic Education Project (CUBE). ESSPIN will run in parallel with World Bank credit-funded projects in four of the States (the State Education Sector Project (SESP) in Kano, Kaduna and Kwara and SESP II in Lagos).

Objectives of the assignment

The main objectives of this consultancy are: (1) to provide a comprehensive analysis of the status of school-based management committees in ESSPIN states so as to form a strong analytical foundation, and (2) to explore the way forward to further expand and strengthen SBMC for improving education service delivery and outcome.

Specific task for the consultancy (See details attached as annex)

- To provide technical and professional lead in the design of School Based Management Committee research in collaboration with National consultants and state teams. This will include; developing criteria for selection of sample LGA/School communities, training of field researchers, develop field reporting format, piloting the draft instruments and conduct a review of the instruments in Kano state.
- Coordinate and supervise the field research in 5 states whilst at the same time carrying out document desk review
- Facilitate the collation and analysis of data and information using agreed format
- Produce preliminary and progress reports.
- Produce a draft and finalize reports of a consolidated 5 states to ESSPIN
- Debrief ESSPIN and other stakeholders on outcomes and recommendations
- Develop strategies for ESSPIN implementation phase

Outputs

1. Summary reports of the each phase and of the consultancy will be shared and discussed by the international consultant, the Lead Specialist and Community Interaction prior to departure from Nigeria. The consultant will also ensure that the Lead Specialist and the Technical Team Leader are fully informed throughout the period of the consultancy.
2. A draft analytical report of the consultancy will be submitted within 14 days of the completion of this consultancy and summary presentation to ESSPIN and other key stakeholders for comments.
3. A final report on the process, analysis undertaken in each of the states, the strategies and action plans to take forward commitments on support to SBMCs in ESSPIN states are expected within two weeks of the completion of this assignment. The report should be submitted electronically by email, in Microsoft Word, font Arial – size; 12.

Institutional/administrative arrangements

The consultant will report to the Lead Specialist Community Interaction and will undertake this assignment in 6 phases: an initial planning and pilot visit to work with National consultants and field researchers in Kano state. The consultant will coordinate and undertake actual field work in Kaduna, Jigawa, Kwara and Lagos States. Collaborate with the co researchers to analysis field data, debrief and submit a report.

Timing, venue and duration of the Consultancy

This assignment is expected to be undertaken in phases, spread across coming months (February – June 2009). The process will begin with an initial ten (10) day's work in February during which plans for subsequent phases of the research will be agreed between the international consultant and ESSPIN.

Timing (tentative)

2 weeks in February 2009

2 weeks in March 2009

2 week in April 2009

1 week in May/June 2009

1 week in June/July 2009

Venue

ESSPIN states, (Kano, Kaduna, Kwara, Lagos and Jigawa), other relevant federal agencies and in particular UBEC, State MoEs, SUBEB, CSO, MDG office, LGEAs and school/communities.

Competencies

Qualifications/experience

1. A postgraduate qualification in education, social development or development management and experience of strategies to community participation and social service delivery.
2. Extensive practical experience of community interactions and school development management structures in developing countries.
3. Experience of providing professional and technical inputs in development assistance programmes/projects.

Knowledge

1. Practical knowledge of educational development issues in Nigeria and other countries.
2. In-depth knowledge and experience of current international literature on school Based management and governance.
3. Knowledge of Nigerian Government and parastatal structures and systems.
4. Experience of School Based Management Committees initiatives in resource poor environments in developing countries (essential), preferably in Nigeria (desirable)

Abilities

1. Ability to communicate appropriately with clients and stakeholders and to elicit reliable information.
2. Ability to inspire colleagues and to act as member of a team.
3. Ability to design and facilitate/implement an investigation into the outcomes and effectiveness of school based management committees.
4. Ability to design and facilitate participative and interactive workshops

Annex A

School Based Management Committees (SBMCS) in policy and practice in Nigeria

Background

- **Rationale**

The problems of Nigeria's education system are well documented. There is poor access to education, particularly for girls and the poorest citizens. Net primary school attendance was only 64% for boys and 57% for girls in 2003. In the north in particular, the situation is worse – only 34% of girls attend school³³. For those who do have access, the quality of education is poor³⁴.

School Management Committees are promoted in international and national development policy as a way to improve the quality of education provision and to promote democracy at the local level. International experience suggests that SBMCs can, in certain conditions, be linked to improvements but the evidence is limited and in some cases contradictory.

In Nigeria, recent changes in education policy have sought to introduce School Based Management Committees (SBMCs) across the country. A number of different programmes and initiatives have been supporting the establishment and functioning of SBMCs (e.g. GEP, ActionAid, CSACEFA, CAPP projects). There is, however, a lack of research on whether and how SBMC policy is being implemented on the ground, and what effect SBMCs are having on communities and on schools.

The DfID-supported Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria (ESSPIN) project provides an important opportunity to review what has been done so far and what shape future support to SBMCs might take. This research, therefore, seeks to clarify how this policy is understood at different levels of the system, and how it is enacted on the ground with particular attention to implications for gender, poverty and the provision of quality education.

- **Brief overview of the literature**

Recent years have seen an increased focus on community participation in education in international development policy and practice. Bray³⁵ suggests that this increase should be seen in the context of a worldwide shift by the 1980s towards privatisation in the public sector, including education, because government operations were seen as inefficient and unresponsive to changing circumstances. One of the reasons why the trend towards community-based solutions was attractive to governments was that it meant parents, communities and civil society taking on some of the financial and other burdens of education. In terms of outcomes, Bray notes positive results in terms of recruitment, retention and attendance of pupils, and improved learning outcomes. However, his findings indicate that there are aspects of school effectiveness where community impact is limited, for example in supply and training of teachers. He further notes that community participation can increase geographical and social disparities between communities, 'because the groups that are already advantaged are in a better position to help themselves than the disadvantaged groups'.

Rose's³⁶ study of the impact that community participation has had on improving gender equity in educational outcomes in sub-Saharan Africa indicates a mixed picture. There is evidence that *under the right conditions* community participation can contribute to increased rates of enrolment for girls. However, there is limited evidence for improved achievement and transition. Indeed, 'As an end in itself, community participation in schooling appears to have resulted in an entrenchment and reinforcement of gender relations, rather than empowering those traditionally excluded from more genuine aspects of participation'.

Burde³⁷ notes that approaches to community participation in education are often not well implemented and have unrealistic aims and objectives. It is 'a complex tool that can be manipulated in multiple ways to varying effect... To the extent that it works to increase the efficiency and quality of social services, participation may provide a patchwork solution to systemic problems, veiling more profound and contentious issues of structural change and political representation'. Burde therefore argues that community participation should complement and check the state, not replace it. In summary, the evidence from these selected sources suggests that the impact of community participation as a strategy is mixed, with a strong indication of the need to retain a focus on understanding the communities as unique and differentiated, if school management committees and other community participation initiatives are to be successful. The other indication is that community participation strategies are not

³³ World Bank. (2005). *Empowering people by transforming institutions: Social development in World Bank operations*.

³⁴ Federal Government of Nigeria. (2004). *Nigeria: National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy*. Abuja, Nigeria: National Planning Commission.

³⁵ Bray, M. (2000). *Community Partnerships in Education: Dimensions, Variations and Implications*. *EFA thematic study*. Dakar.

³⁶ Rose, P. (2003). *Communities, gender and education: Evidence from sub-Saharan Africa*. *Background paper for 2003 UNESCO Global Monitoring Report*.

³⁷ Burde, D. (2004). "Weak state, strong community? Promoting community participation in post-conflict countries." *Current issues in comparative education* 6(2).

the solution to educational problems; but they might be useful as part of a range of strategies to tackling complex problems. A more comprehensive review of the national and international literature will be required to confirm these early conclusions.

The theoretical approach of this study draws on critical policy analysis, gender theory and critical approaches to community. For example, it will employ the concept of recontextualisation³⁸: that is, the ways in which policies change when they interact with new contexts. Crucial to this is an analysis of 'fields of contest', that is, the disputes and conflicts that take place at national, local and institutional levels, their changing relationships and their inter-penetration³⁹. It is also informed by literature on gender and development which views an understanding of the gendered power relations as crucial to analysing and understanding institutions. In addition the research is informed by a critical approach to the concept of community; that is, one that questions a unitary and homogeneous view of community.

Research questions

- What are the key policies around SBMCs in Nigeria, and how are they understood by key stakeholders at federal, state, local government, school and community levels?
- How have these policies been 'enacted' at school and community level?
- What are the implications of the ways in which SBMC policy has been implemented for questions of gender, poverty and school governance?
- What strategies do the findings suggest for future ESSPIN research and engagement with SBMCs?

Methodology

Phase 1: Literature review

A review of the literature on the impact and effectiveness of community participation initiatives, including SBMCs, in Nigeria will be conducted. This review will feed into the Situational Analysis of Basic Education Service Delivery in Nigeria, to be conducted as part of the research strategy for the inception phase.⁴⁰

Phase 2: Setting up the research.

During this preliminary phase, TORs for the field researchers will be developed, and field and state researchers will be recruited; detailed methodology and tools will be developed, researchers will be trained and tools will be piloted. Training and piloting will take place in one of the study states.

Phase 3: Field research

Field research will be conducted in Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Kwara and Lagos states. This will be a qualitative piece of research because it seeks to explore what is happening and why at school community level in relation to SBMCs. In-depth case studies will be conducted in two communities in each of the four study states – 10 case studies in total. These case studies will use a mixture of methodological approaches including interviews, observation and participatory research to develop a detailed SBMC, school and community profiles. These profiles will help to clarify questions about who SBMC members are, what kind of activities they are involved in and why, how they see their roles, and what relationships exist between SBMC members, different community members, teachers, parents and others. We envisage the development of a SBMC profiling 'tool' which could be used more broadly and/or used to revisit these communities over a period of time to track changes.

A crucial element of this research will be the opportunity it presents for capacity building within state ministries of education and Local Government Authorities (LGAs). The research will therefore be conducted by one state/LGA official (state researcher) and one field researcher, supported by State Consultants in each of the five states. Researchers will work in state-based pairs. Each pair will spend 5 days in each community, 3 days interviewing LGA & state officials, plus 2 days writing up time – i.e. 15 working days in each state.

At federal, state and local government level, semi-structured interviews will be conducted with government officials and representatives of NGOs and donor organisations to explore understandings of SBMC policy.

Phase 4: Analysis

³⁸ See e.g. Bernstein, B. (1990). *The structuring of pedagogic discourse*. London, Routledge.

³⁹ Ball, S. (1998). Big Policies/Small World: An Introduction to International Perspectives in Education Policy. *Comparative Education*, 34(2).

⁴⁰ Akyeampong, K. (2009). *Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria (ESSPIN). Research strategy for inception phase*. Abuja: ESSPIN. See Annex A for draft literature review questions.

Analysis will be conducted collaboratively over a 2-week period by the full research team,. This is based on the belief that research findings with a large team of researchers working in diverse contexts are best discussed collaboratively at the initial stage of analysis in order to make best use of the data.

Phase 5: Writing up

The writing of the final report will be led by the lead researcher, with assistance from the rest of the research team. A full report and summary report will be produced.

Phase 6: Dissemination & design/planning of follow up

The following outputs are planned:

- A presentation of preliminary findings will be made after the analysis phase in mid April, timed to feed into the inception report of ESSPIN.
- A full and summary report will be produced by end of July.
- A conference paper will be developed for UKFIET 2009 – effect of EFA on communities theme – to be lead by CR with support of LR. This may also be developed into a journal paper.

There will be options to extend the research so that it can feed into ESSPIN research strategy & ESSPIN monitoring.

Annex B:

Draft questions for literature review

1 What are the different ways in which parents and community members have been involved in school management in the past, and why?

- Look at historical factors that shape present attitudes to community participation in schools especially the effects of military dictatorships & return of democracy
- Policy development
- Look at differences between states
- PTAs
- Other arrangements, formal or informal
- SBMCs formed as a result of the 2007 order but without support or training
- Look at key projects & initiatives that have included a focus on SBMCs or their precursors including Self Help, CUBE initiatives, GEP, CSACEFA, CAPP, ActionAid, government training & others.

2 What are the documented results of that involvement (and what remains undocumented), and why?

- What evaluations of projects and interventions mentioned in (1) are available?
- What indicators were used to monitor and evaluate SBMCs, with what results?
- What evidence, if any, is there that SBMCs had an impact on:
 - Enrolment (by gender, poorer children)
 - Achievement (by gender, poorer children)
 - Participation of men, women, poorer community members in decision making
- What reasons, if any, are given for those impacts
- How convincing is the evidence?
- Where projects & initiatives have not been evaluated or documented, is any other evidence available (anecdotal, statistical, other)?
- Where projects and initiatives have finished is there evidence of any on-going impact, and if so, what?

3 What lessons can be drawn for future interventions?

- Structure, roles & responsibilities
- Systems of accountability
- Incentives
- Women/children participation and representation
- Strategies that support enrolment, attendance, equity, participation

Annex 2: conceptual framework

This note lays out the key concepts around which the fieldwork and analysis will be organised.

Research questions

1. What are the key policies around SBMCs in Nigeria, and how are they understood by key stakeholders at federal, state, local government, school and community levels?
2. How have these policies been 'enacted' at school and community level?
3. What are the implications of the ways in which SBMC policy has been implemented for questions of gender, poverty and school governance?
4. What strategies do the findings suggest for future ESSPIN research and engagement with SBMCs?

1. The research questions (boxed above) suggest that the research needs to approach SBMCs from a number of different angles:

- 1 **understandings** of SBMCs and community participation;
- 2 **enactment** of SBMC policy
- 3 **impact** of SBMC policy
- 4 **future** of SBMC policy (NB policy understood in a very broad sense, not just government policy)

These angles suggest a clear structure to individual and group interviews and focus group discussions.

2. Another key set of issues is around **power, conflict and change**. These issues derive from a set of influences including 1) an assumption that understanding power dynamics within key institutions (including SBMCs and schools) is important ; 2) an understanding of policy as discourses which exercise power through the production of truth and knowledge and 3) analysis of 'fields of contest', that is, the disputes and conflicts that take place at national, local and institutional levels, their changing relationships and their inter-penetration⁴¹. These issues are of interest at both the level of individual and institutional relationships, which suggests the use of individual interviews as well as tools drawn from PRA/PLA that focus on institutions. It also suggests that field researchers will need to be alert to picking up and exploring issues of conflict as they come up and will need to be skilled in terms of handling them.

3. A further set of issues is focused around the question of **community participation** and how to understand and evaluate it. A useful approach is suggested by Wilson & Wilde (2003)⁴² in their analysis of community participation through the concepts of influence, inclusivity, communication and capacity (resources):

Resources	Inclusivity
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Financial & other material resources• Skills & capacity• Training and support	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Membership• Processes of formation• Role of women• Role of poor

41 Ball, S. (1998). Big Policies/Small World: An Introduction to International Perspectives in Education Policy. *Comparative Education*, 34(2).

42 Wilson, M. & Wilde, P. (2003) Benchmarking community participation: Developing and implementing the Active Partners benchmarks. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Networks • Motivation & reward 	
<p>Communication</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Profile & presence of SBMC • Communication of SBMC decisions • Communication between school and SBMC • Communication between LGA & SBMC • Tensions & conflict 	<p>Influence</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accountability • Within the SBMC, who makes the decisions • SBMC power and influence in relation to school and other local institutions (horizontal) • SBMC power and influence in relation to LGA (vertical) • Possibilities for promoting collective action for change

Proposed - four dimensions of community participation in education (adapted from Wilson & Wilde (2003: 7))

These categories suggest a way of organising and analysis SBMCs; however this 4-way model will need to be supplemented by (4) below.

4 A further element is the concern with **school governance**. Particular ESSPIN concerns are:

- autonomy to take decision on personnel management, school budget and expenditure,
- school maintenance of infrastructure and monitoring,
- best practices/enforcement,
- accountability mechanisms and
- capacity to govern/manage schools⁴³.

Key questions to be explored then are the extent to which SBMCs are involved with these aspects of school governance. McLennan (1997) defines school governance as:

the integrated management of the complex political, socio-economic and institutional relationships between people (the stakeholders of any particular sector), policy (normative and regulatory frameworks) and power (the distribution and utilisation of power and authority networks) in order to ensure effective and efficient service delivery⁴⁴.

This view of governance as a dynamic balance of power between three entities within the framework of an overall direction of better education is a helpful one.

In addition, a key debate in the governance literature concerns the extent to which this diversified power does or does not address questions of collective action for social change (See e.g. Mundy 2007⁴⁵).

43 Fatima Aboki, personal communication, 5/2/09

44 McLennan A 1997. Education management development in South Africa: Trends and frameworks. In : Smith W J, Thurlow M & Forster W F (eds). Supporting education management in South Africa. International perspectives, Vol. 1. Selected themes in education management development. Johannesburg: CSAEM P.

⁴⁵ Mundy, K (2007) Basic Education, Civil Society Participation and the New Aid Architecture: Lessons from Burkina Faso, Kenya, Mali and Tanzania. Toronto: CIDA.

These varied and complex influences suggest a varied set of methods that will seek to cover the above issues with a wide set of stakeholders at school, community and local government levels. An outline of those methods appears below.

ESSPIN

SBMCs in policy and practice

Research site (state, LGA, community):

.....

Researcher names:

.....

TRAINING & PILOTING OUTLINE PLAN

Sunday 15th Feb	Introduction to the research (PhD) Experience & needs analysis Introduction to the methodology <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Qualitative • Case studies • Reflexive • Gender Research timing Ethics Sampling Other sources of data	FA SCs
Monday 16th	Roles & responsibilities Logistics & planning Analysis Write up & presentation Training Field Researchers State level interviews	FA SCs
Tuesday 17th	1. Introductions 2. Introduction to the research 3. Introduction to tools 4. Roles & responsibilities 5. Timing 6. Methodological issues <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviewing/listening skills • PRA • FGDs • Group feedback meeting • Recording 7. Ethics 8. Training & support needs 9. Prepare Day 1 tools	SCs FRs
Wednesday 18th	Pilot Day 1 Feedback & review Prepare Day 2 tools	
Thursday 19th	Pilot Day 2 Feedback & review Prepare Day 3 tools	
Friday 20th	Pilot Day 3 Feedback & review Prepare Day 4 tools	
Saturday 21st	Pilot Day 4 Feedback & review Prepare Day 5 tools	
Sunday 22nd	Pilot Day 5 Feedback & review	
Monday 23rd	Planning for main phase of research Any other issues Depart	

School Based Management Committees (SBMCs) in policy and practice

17th February 2009

Pilot plan

Tues 17th Feb	Workshop	
Weds 18th Feb	Tool 1: School profile. Gather school data from school registers on enrolment, attendance. Tool 2: Transect walk & social resource mapping	8.30 Enter – greet headteacher, village leader 9-11 social resource mapping - mixed group school staff, SBMC members, community members. 11-1 School profile 4-5 Feedback meeting Mumbayya House
Thurs 19th Feb	Tool 3: Interviews with Headteacher, 2 teachers (1 male, 1 female), SBMC chair, community leader, CBO/NGO representative.	9-10 HT 10-11 F teacher 11-12 SBMC chair 12-1 community leader 1-2 CBO/NGO leader 4-5 Feedback meeting
Fri 20th Feb	Tool 4: SBMC group meeting Tool 5: Individual Interviews with SBMC members (1m, if) Examine SBMC papers & meeting records Observe SBMC meeting (tba at later date)	9-10 SBMC group meeting 10-11 Individual meeting (F member) 11-12 Examine meeting records
Sat 21st Feb	Tool 6: Venn diagram: one men's group, one women's group	9-11 women's group 11-12 men's group 12-1 Feedback meeting

Plan for Monday 23rd February – wrap up

0900	Plan for the research: overview Changes I've made
0930	Things to do before fieldwork – planning in groups Feedback
1030	Things to do during the fieldwork <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ethics • Recording: write down quotations; reflections; feelings. • Discussion & analysis: come back to the research questions & analytical framework
1100	Coffee
1130	Sampling: in groups Feedback
1230	Things to do after the fieldwork <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prepare one set of completed field notes • Prepare your case study presentation • Reporting format
1300	Lunch
1400	Principles <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Keep the big picture in mind • Look at what is happening, not what should be happening • Don't worry about strategies. Worry about understanding what is working and why • Tools and questions are a guideline only • Go off on tangents • Snoop • Think critically
1500	Any other questions

	Next steps Close
1530	Sit with NCs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contacts • Reports/contracts • Other business

Annex 5a: Jigawa team pilot report

DR. MICHAEL W. MUSA - LEAD RESEARCHER

MUSA MUHAMMAD HADEJIA - RESEARCHER

ABUBAKAR M. NASHABARU - RESEARCHER

1. Background

Panda Primary School is located in the rural community of Panda in Albasu LGA of Kano State. The community has a low population density, comprising of inhabitants who are mostly Hausa and Fulani speaking people, and predominantly are Moslems. The major occupation is farming along side with off-farm activities such as civil service, livestock rearing, commuting services, petty trading, carpentry, food processing (mostly by women), crafts and brick making. Agricultural crops grown are millet, sorghum, rice, cowpea, maize and sugar cane. Livestock reared include: cattle, sheep, goats and poultry. The lifestyle of the people are based on some form of social organization and structure, characterized by a network of social relationships which are functionally differentiated and tied to a prevailing unique culture. The social arrangements peculiar to decision making and participation is governed by laws and principles recognized by all community members as promoting a balanced way of life crucial to their own continued existence.

Information generated by the use of school profile, transect walk and interview tools revealed that the school building is made up of four blocks of 6 classrooms in which streams of class rooms are compressed. Other facilities include school library, staff room, two-seater toilets, a well and an on-going construction of additional two-seater toilets by community efforts. The existing building structures are in good, which can largely be attributed to the relocation of the school from its original and historic location. School furniture appears adequate and in good condition as this has been provided through community efforts as well with support from Educational Trust Fund (ETF). Most of the teachers have low qualifications. The school has 21 teachers with a high gender disparity of 19 male teachers and 2 female teachers. Pupils enrolment rose up to a total 461(M=289: F=172) pupils in 2008/2009 but declined in attendance to 205 (M=143: F=62) pupils in the first term. In the second term attendance rose to 320 (M=212: F=110) pupils. This was recognized to be encouraging.

2. Structures in Panda Community that Support the Primary School

Findings revealed that the Panda primary school received institutional at the community level:

- The Panda Educational Development Forum (PEDF) an umbrella community based organization which works in line with the PTA and SBMC in supporting the development of the school.
- The Parents Teachers Association
- The School Based Management Committee (SBMC)
- Old Boys Association (OBA)
- Occupational based groups and cooperatives such as farmers' associations which work hand in hand with other with the SBMC, PTA and the PEDF
- Traditional institution which comprise an educated and versatile village head that supports educational development of the community under his jurisdiction. The Venn Diagram tool revealed that the village head is a key figure in the planning, management and development of the school.

3. Resources

To a large extent, the opportunity structure of a community is determined by the available resource potentials. Findings from the Venn diagram, the Transect Walk, Interviews, Resource and Social Mapping revealed that Panda community has:

- an agile labour force
- Well educated members who have a strong will towards education and community development.
- Financial base accruing from farming and off- activities, support from community cohesiveness and organizations, with some form of support from State and LGA as well.
- Settlement patterns are characterised by elongated structures made up of cemented and mud materials, thatched and zinc roof, has dispensary, water tank, electric poles, abandoned police post structure, wide area of land for farming and livestock rearing.
- Members who possess durable items such motorcycles, bicycles, cars.
- Strong and functional community based associations such as PEDF, PTA and SBMC.

4. Inclusivity

Membership in the PTA, PEDF and SBMC is male dominated. Though women play significant role in providing support, their importance is often undermined and not well highlighted as regards their membership, decision making process and participation in the activities of these associations. Reasons for women's non-active participation in these associations and SBMC are attributed to the socio-cultural factors which do not allow their women to mingle with men in public places. Findings show that pupils (Male and Female) and other important community figure such as the religious leader were not included in the membership of the SBMC and PTA. At the community level, the evidence of inclusivity is manifested by the strong linkage between the school, village head, PTA, PEDF and SBMC members. This is so because the membership composition of these organizations is made up of all or some of the same key members.

5. Communication

There is a hierarchy in terms of communication flow in the community. However, findings from interviews carried out among various community members revealed that the linkages in the transfer and flow of information most especially about the SBMC appear weak. In most instances, information flow are verbalised with little documented. As such there is evidence of information insufficiency as regards to the thorough understanding of the membership composition of the SBMC. Findings from the Venn diagram revealed that the process of information transfer is both horizontal and vertical between and among members on the one hand, and between the community and the LGA on the other hand. As findings have shown, communication is centrally dominated (top-down) even though the evidence of 'bottom-up' flow of information (feedback) can not be ruled out.

6. Influence

It was observed that there are many interlocking and salient factors influencing the decision-making processes and actions. Among these are the issues of power relations, resource availability, its control and management. Decision making about education can be observed at different levels. One level of decision making is from the State into the community, while the other is at the community level with decisions taken centrally and collectively by members of SBMC, PTA, PEDF and occupational associations. Findings show that decision making is based on consultation and consensus.

4. REMARK

- Piloting of the instruments proved over 95% success. There is evidence of generating valuable information in the actual conduct of the SBMC research in the ESSPIN States.
- Difficulties encountered in different scenarios and locations, has given room for adjustments to be made so that salient issues can be deepened.

Annex 5b: Kaduna team report

1.0 BACKGROUND

This report presents findings from the pilot assessment of SBMC in a primary school in Kano. The report is structured to cover the background (the community and the school context), the structures in place to support the school, the situation of resources in the school, exclusivity, communication and influence in the school.

1.1 Location

State:-----Kano

LGA: -----Garun Mallam

School: -----Special Primary School

Community: -----Chiromawa Idi

1.2 Key Features of the Community

The community is in a semi urban area about 35kilometers from Kano city and on the way to Zaria. It has electricity, pipe borne water, a health centre, post office, a market situated near the road and a big filling station and a police post. The chief's house and the mosque are other prominent features of the community which were all identified on the social map by the community people.

The community has very large farm land with many farmers engaged in all sorts of farming activities both in the rainy and dry season. This explains why community members found it hard to give much of their time to the researchers though it is the dry season. Besides farmers, there are petty traders, artisans and transporters. Several organizations are also found in the community as revealed by the Venn diagram exercise.

1.3 School Features

1.3.1 Population of pupils/Teachers

The special primary school in community is quite big with a population of **2345** pupils – (Males: 1675 and Females: 670). This clearly shows gross inequality in the enrollment of boys and girls in the school. Due to the large number of pupils and the inadequate number of classrooms the school runs two shifts-morning and evening. Still to cope with the population, each class (i.e. level of study) has four arms whether in the morning or evening sessions. The total number of pupils in the school is 49 and the teacher pupil ratio is 48:1.

1.3.2 Facilities/materials

The school has quite large space for additional classrooms if it can afford. There are two foot ball fields for boys but no form of sports facility for the girls. This again shows inequality in the needs of boys and girls. However, there are toilets for both boys and girls, male and female teachers. There is also pipe borne water and a functioning borehole. Both the borehole and the pipe water were provided by a local NGO called Women Farmers Association of Nigeria, (WOFAN).

There is a teacher's room but without furniture, a first aid box in use but not well stocked. Classrooms have inadequate number of benches and pupils of the ECCP class in particular all seat on the floor and their teachers reported lack non availability of scheme of work, indoors and outdoor play facilities and materials. There is lack of teaching aids generally and teachers resort to making some local ones. Students have the required number of exercise books for all subjects but have no text books. Teachers text books are however available.

2.0 COMMUNITY STRUCTURES

2.1 Community level

- Responses from different groups and individuals pointed to the following as key structures that work to support school development: The ECD – Education development committee which was

rated as number 1 in its support for school development, followed by the PTA and the SBMC. Others include the old boys and JNI.

- Discussions and interviews with community members revealed that the community organizations work together to generate fund and implement school projects. A clear was a two classroom block built to lintel level through the joint efforts of the EDC, PTA and SBMC. The question is how these collaborative efforts towards school development be maintained and strengthened when funding starts flowing in for the SBMC? – Sustainability issue.

2.2 Outside the community

- Organizations outside the community that support school are the LGEA, MOE WOFAN and MOH in terms of immunization of the children and so on.

3.0 RESOURCES

3.1 The resources available in the school include:

- Vast land for school development
- Many teachers, but more than half do not have the minimum qualification for teaching.
- Effective and well coordinated community level organizations committed to school development.
- NGO support, e.g. WOFAN
- Text books available for teachers and exercise books for pupils
- Potable water
- Technical support from LGEA, MOE and MOH. Support to the school is in the area of policy guidelines, supervision and immunization of children

3.2 Resources lacking

- Inadequate number of classrooms
- Lack of teaching aids, toys for ECCD and also non availability of syllabus and scheme of work for the ECCD class.
- Inadequate number of seats in classrooms and a total lack of seats for the ECCD class.
- Inadequate number of qualified teachers

4.0 EXCLUSIVITY

- Records and discussions reveal a 17 member SBMC committee reportedly selected in a community meeting. Out of this the numbers of women are four and that of pupils two.
- However, it was found that there were up to four teachers on the SBMC contrary to the guidelines.
- Selection of SBMC members reported to have been conducted in a community meeting , implying it was democratic and not by selection.
- The pupils do not attend the SBMC meetings, implying lack of participation of pupils on the committee.
- Though members seem to be knowledgeable about the school development plan drawn by the SBMC, they are not as knowledgeable about the guidelines of the SBMC. This may be an indication of poor information flow on SBMC.
- The linkages among the key organizations (SBMC / PTA/EDC) that support the school are in the areas of membership and roles, responsibilities and common concerns for the school.

5.0 COMMUNICATION

5.1 School/Community level

- Concerns of the school are channeled to the PTA, EDC and the SBMC by the head teacher. Where necessary the matter is reported to the LGEA officials as well.

- The chief is notified of issues in the school that require his attention as the chief.
- A report from various community organizations on their activities and future plans are shared in a wider community meeting held in the chiefs palace. Women and children are excluded from the meeting due to cultural and religious grounds.

5.2 LGA/State level

- Policies and directives are given to the school from the LGEA. The school in turn reports to the community key organizations for action, e.g. formation of SBMC guidelines were said to have been sent to the school by the LGEA office.

INFLUENCE

- In terms of which organization has the greatest influence on the school, the EDC is seen as number 1 by both men and women. This is followed by the PTA and SBMC as well as the old boys all within the community.
- From outside the community it was reported that the LGEA MOE, MOH WOFAN exert a great influence.

Background Information on Bechi, Kumbotso LGA, Kano

A. Bechi Area and Its People

- Bechi Primary School is one of the Semi Urban Schools chosen for the research.
- It is in Kumbotso Local Government Area (LGA)
- Bechi is a community established over a century ago by migrant Fulani cattle rearers, with a current population of about 4,000 people situated in the middle of 10 small hamlets which about a half Kilometre apart
- It is strategically located and is 15km away from Kano, 5km from Sharada Industrial Zone and with access to water, electricity and vast land for developmental activities
- Most of the youth in Bechi have had at least Primary education with some few members of the community occupying government position. For example, the village head is the PTA Coordinator in the Local Government

B. Bechi Primary School

- Bechi Primary School is one of the UPE schools established in 1976 with 50kids and currently has 420 pupils
- There are 3 blocks of classrooms housing Primary one to six with a school head teacher's office attached
- There are 5 toilets all in one block meant for the teachers, girls and boys
- There is well, a tap and a school field found in the school
- One of the school's blocks has its roof blown off. It was reported by the PTA/SBMC that efforts had been made 3 times to reroof the block
- There is no one single female teacher. LGEA representative explained the absence of female teachers to be as a result of posting difficulties particularly with respect to married women, who are finding it difficult to cope because of the distance factor

What are the structures supporting Bechi Primary School

- Venn diagram done with the community identified 12 structures and 3 institutions supporting the school. Among them are the newly formed SBMC, Community associations including women group as well the Local Government Education Authority (LGEA), State Universal Basic education (SUBEB) and Universal Basic Education (UBEC)
- Community associations include Students Association, Muslims Students Society, Farmers Association, Vigilante group, Youth Association, Amana group, Old Boys, Self Help Group
- The LGEA identified as the second most significant structure is mainly concern with the deployment of the teachers and payment of their salaries while the SUBEB and UBEC are mainly concern with Supervision and policy matters
- Old Boys has been identified prominently in its role of arranging extra lessons for the pupils as well conduct of non formal education classes
- PTA has been single out as the most significant structure supporting the school in terms of school awareness creation, school repairs and maintenance
- SBMC mainly formed 2 months ago is yet to be identified with any significant impact but has made its presence felt in mobilising the community members for this research
- Apart from the school structures few notable individuals including the current SBMC else while Councillor were identified to have been supporting the school financially and in the provision of new school uniforms to the pupils
- Toilets were also built through the efforts of PTA and other community associations

SBMC Functionality

- SBMC was formed about 2 Months ago with only 6 members. The SBMC Chairman was selected by the village Head but through recognition of his track records in the community. The rest members included the PTA Chair, the Village Head but excluded prominent representations from pupils, women and artisans.
- There was no record of any meeting or achievements made under the SBMC platform
- The SBMC Chair admitted during the Social Resource Mapping that he would need help about what the SBMC was intended for and how its operational guidelines
- There was a general lack of clarity to the intentions and operational guidelines of the SBMC by all the SBMC members until the coming of the research team

- Even though posters for the formation of SBMC were brought the school community as admitted by the head teacher, he admitted as well other members of the community that no detailed explanations or dissemination of the SBMC guidelines
- SBMC guidelines was apparently missing in the school even though one of the SUBEB staff among the research team admitted all the schools had been provided with the guidelines
- Even though SBMC was newly formed and was not well constituted before the research, it demonstrated hope for future by the arranging a forum to strengthen the membership of the SBMC as well as mobilising and arranging logistics at the community level to see to the success of the research. SBMC Chair also articulated vision for the SBMC during the Community feedback meeting

Inclusivity

- At the commencement of the research the SBMC has been reconstituted to include all the required 17 representatives
- Hitherto to the research, children, artisans, key leaders of the associations, representatives from other catchment areas and women were conspicuously left out of the SBMC

School/Community Resources

- Social resources in the community range from primary school, households, health centre, motor park, roads including the newly constructed by pass bus top to market
- Natural resources include farmlands, river, dam
- There are up to 12 structures supporting the Primary School as mentioned earlier
- The Primary School has turned in Councillors and PTA Coordinators in the LGA
- Books for the people exist but were admitted to be inadequate
- Wall Charts were conspicuously missing from the classes
- 5 toilets exist but all in one block for use by the teachers, girls and boys
- Other resources have been listed under the Schools' background

Communication:

- Communication channel between the school and the parent is through the PTA. The PTA Chair liaises between the school and the parents
- Communication between the SBMC and the community is unclear as SBMC was in the state of limbo before the commencement of the research
- Channel of communication between the LGEA and the School and vice-versa has largely been through the PTA coordinator who is the Village Head as the School Supervisor from the LGEA who happens to a female.
- There is no established line of communication even the SBMC guideline

Influence

- The key actors influencing the school have been outlined under the section of structures that support the school
- Largely influence on the school were from both community structures and individuals
- Relative contributions to the school in terms of finance, material, moral formed bases of any influence
- Apparently, the Village head, SBMC Chair, PTA Chair and few notable individuals are very influential in the community and by extension the school
- It is unclear how influential the head teacher and remaining colleagues are in the community during this research

Key Findings on the Tools:

- The tools seem to be adequate in exploring issues of governance, gender and equity from the perspective of school, SBMC and community at large
- The questions are simple and could easily understood
- The tools seem to be too many for a case study with a well defined focus – Policy and practice
- For a specialised area of research, emphasis could be more focused on key informants on specific issues rather than individual interviews
- Some of the tools may require specific instructions for the purpose of guidance
- Possibility of research tool guide may be useful to facilitate understanding and standardisation
- The tools may required fine tuning within the context of different scenarios – SBMC functionality

- The tools may require also fine tuning to respond effectively to objectives 1 and 3 of the research e.g. forced choice exercise for objective 1 and force field exercise for objective 3
- Field reporting format as a tool is also needed to ease analysis and reporting

Annex 5d: Kwara team report

Background

Garun Malam Special Primary School is located at Garun Malam Village in Garun Malam LGA of Kano State, a distance of about 35km from the State Capital, Kano City. The Community is endowed with various institutions such as a Health Centre, Police Station, District Head Palace, Mosque, Islamiyya School, Junior Secondary and another Primary School at the outskirts of the village. The Village Head's House is located in a central place just behind the village mosque. It is a community of predominantly farmers who specialize in the production of rice, onions, tomatoes and animal husbandry.

Community Structures that Support the School

It was observed that the community Leader & the District Head are conversant with the happenings in the school environment and are willing to support both old and new initiatives towards the development of the school. It was discovered that the PTA is a strong entity working closely with the SBMC with two of their members being members of the SBMC.

The Women Farmers Association (WOFAN) is also very prominent in the development of the community. In the school, there is an on-going construction of 4 new toilets by WOFAN. In addition to this, the PTA is constructing a staff room and an office for the Head Teacher.

Another interesting feature of the school is the presence of the Local Government Education Area (LGEA) office within the school premises giving it proximity to Local Government presence. Other structures that support the school include Religious Organizations, Farmers Union, and Prominent Personalities within & outside the Community and Youths.

Resources

Garun Malam is a rural community, yet the people have been responsive to some of the needs of the school. They are predominantly farmers, but have quite a few educated men who work in the education, health agricultural sectors within the community. It is a well resourced primary school with 8 blocks of 17 classrooms inclusive of a 2 classroom block for Early Childcare Education (ECCE). There are adequate toilet facilities for both teachers and pupils. Also in the school, there are 2 functional water points (1 borehole and an open well). The population of the school pupils is 863, boys – 577 and girls – 286. There are 27 teachers and 1 Librarian. The teachers are made up of 24 males and 3 females. All the pupils have access to major text books in Mathematics and English, but they can neither read nor write. Though the school is funded by resources from the LGEA, it is privileged to get support from various interventions, the latest of which is State Education Support Project (SESP). It was observed that a cross-section of the stakeholders have a good knowledge of important institutions in the community. For instance, they could identify the locations easily through the social mapping conducted.

Inclusivity

The composition of the SBMC on the Guidelines seemed to have been followed by the school community as the list displayed at the Head Teacher's Office connotes. However, the children are only there on paper. In reality, neither the Head Boy nor Head Girl is invited to any of the meetings. The women on the SBMC are only 3 and they are passive participants.

Communication

There seems to be good information flow among PTA Executives and SBMC. The channel of communication between Head Teacher & the SBMC is well understood. Speaking with groups of women & other community members, men and women outside the SBMC and the leadership of the community do not know about the existence of the SBMC. There is also no communication with the pupils who are primary stakeholders in the SBMC. It was observed that only children of the SBMC adult members seem to have idea of its existence & some of the proceedings. The passive participation of the women in the SBMC found its expression in the knowledge displayed by a cross-section of the women in the community. It was also clear that representatives of different groups on the SBMC do not disseminate information about the proceedings to the larger groups they represent.

Influence

It was observed that the Head Teacher and SBMC members are aware of the accountability structures. The Head Teacher knows he is accountable to the LGEA and partially to the SBMC. The SBMC members also know that they are accountable to the community and the school authority.

The male group noted that the District Head is the most powerful & influential personality. Whereas the women felt the Village Head is the most influential since they do not have access to the District Head.

On the SBMC, it was agreed that decisions are collectively made and consensus are reached on contentious issues such as school needs, supplies renovations, etc.

Notes:

Reflecting every day. May even hypothesize.

Annex 5e: Lagos team report

1. Background

The LGA has ten wards, five of them being part of Sabon Gari. Kurna is in D2 ward, which has a very young Ward Head who has taken over from his aged father. Both have shown interest in the research and the old father made the particular point that teachers need to be better paid.

The school is near the centre of Kano with a sign a short way behind it reading *Kwakwaci Mechanic Village*.

The school mainly takes children from the Police Barracks. There are both traditional and modern elements in the community make-up.

- We met a lot of highly educated women in the community but only one highly educated man whom the female researchers saw when visiting his wife. We were unable to visit men's groups.
- The educated elite have their children in private schools.

Community structures:

The women met during the research belong to the Al'amanat Women's Association and support the school out of charity, even though their own children do not go there.

At Local Government level

The research team visited the Education Secretary of the LGEA, the SBMC Co-ordinator, and the District Head. All were interested in the school and gave every co-operation for the research. Their hospitality was generous and they had souvenir photographs taken.

At school level

SPS Kurna is well staffed with an active Head Teacher, a committed SBMC Chairman (a local businessman), a well educated Treasurer who banks all monies and is also the PTA chairman – he uses his professional knowledge to keep the school first-aid box well stocked.

2. Resources

- There are good school buildings though there is a hole in the class 2a floor that could probably be repaired with only one bag of cement.
- There are attractive children's books in the school library but children were observed in class without textbooks. The SBMC Co-ordinator complained that World Bank did not send enough book for the large number of children in the Kano schools.
- The Ward has several Islamiya Schools. It was explained that the children attend in the afternoons after secular school.
- In one house visited there was a blackboard and materials for Islamiya lessons to be given at home.
- The SBMC, PTA, and Al'amanat Women's Association ass levy to pay for chalk, furniture repairs, exercise-books, first aid, uniforms for poor children and school fees for orphans.

There are 47 school staff for 13 classes: one Early Childhood class and 12 primary classes. Teachers have a fairly equal gender balance and adequate levels of qualification: NCE 12, Grade II teachers 11. The children are taught by subject specialists rather than have one teacher for all subjects. They also attend library for 35 minutes per class each week. The librarian is female.

Pupils

In the 12 primary classes 1 – 6 (double streamed) there are 332 boys and 305 girls, each class having more boys than girls except class 3 where there are 40 boys and 68 girls.

Spot checks on class 2a and 4b showed well kept registers, with few children leaving the school

Ages of children in 4b ranged from 9 to 20 years, with the median around 12 years. Three boys had left since last term and one was off sick.

Enrolment is high, with all classes fuller than the ideal. Class 2a had 68 children with 23 sitting on the floor. Walking round the neighbourhood there was no sign of out of school children such as are seen in other towns, though there were *almajiri* begging in traffic jams.

Children's organisations: children themselves organise cultural clubs and other activities in the school, according to informants. They were observed during a PE lessons without a teacher organising themselves for games, the girls in a circle and the boys playing football.

There is a Head Boy, a Head Girl, 28 prefects (18 of them female) and separate monitors. This information was given by the Head Boy, who attends the SBMC meetings and carries a whip to discipline children at school closing time.

3. Inclusivity

- There are more boys than girls
- There appear to be very few Christian children despite the fact that the catchment area includes Police Barracks and the school is near Sabon Gari where non-Hausa people mainly live.
- There are Igbo and Yoruba shops near the Barracks. The only person interviewed was a Yoruba woman who said she sent all her children to private schools.
- Some parents complained that they don't always get invited to PTA meetings in time
- Parents avoid SBMC meetings because they don't want to pay levies
- Women attend SBMC meetings but are not involved in key decisions
- Financial decisions sometimes have to be made in haste by the Head Teacher together with the SBMC Chairman and the SBMC Treasurer.

4 Communication

- Communication on important issues is received from government
- Women and children don't know anything about SBMC and PTA members

The community are aware of problems in the classrooms in terms of the effectiveness of teaching and learning but they do not transmit these concerns upwards to Local Government. Interviews showed that community members are well aware of problems but instead of trying to improve interactions in the school they prefer to send their children to private schools.

- They only do what the Local Government tells them to do and they do not see it as part of their job to try to change schools for the better
- They don't go to class
- They don't complain about lack of books to read
- They do, however, contribute money to cover gaps in government funding.

Examples of communication up the system during the research:

It was interesting to note in the community feedback meeting that a boy in class 5 or 6 said teachers should be trained to teach very well. The old Ward Head met two days before said something similar when he urged the Federal Government to pay teachers better in order to improve their performance.

Communication to children

The Head Boy and Head Girl attend SBMC meetings but do not talk. They claim that they do pass on information to the prefects and monitors about what happened in the meetings. There was no chance to verify this. Most children interviewed did not know of the existence of SBMC and confused it with PTA.

5. Influence

There are a few people in multiple roles, so that, for example, a woman who is a teacher may be a member of the Al'amanat Association and also a member of the SBMC.

Most of the work of the SBMC is done by the Chairman and the Treasurer, who seem to be genuine philanthropists dedicated to raising up the community.

SBMC members are chosen by both election and selection. It appears that it is difficult to get the 12 other members fully involved because of the personal sacrifice needed.

Many people do not know of the existence of the SBMC.

The Local Government SBMC Co-ordinator was the chief source of information to the research team.

His interest and dedication were outstanding and we thank him for staying with us all the time.

We should also like to thank the SBMC Chairman, the Head Teacher and his staff and children, the Al'amanat Women's Association, the Education Secretary, the District Head and Ward Heads, all SBMC and PTA members and all community members for their help and friendship.

Mrs Jane Olatunji-Hughes

Mrs Tina Obanubi Ade

Mr 'Biodun Johnson Fowomola

Annex 6: Email to STLs

<https://m1.ioe.ac.uk/exchange/H.Poulsen/Sent%20Items/SBMC%20research%20plans.EML?cmd=body&Security=1&unfiltered=1>

Dear ESSPIN State Team Leaders

I have spoken at least briefly to all of you about the SBMC research during the recent piloting phase, with the exception of Abolaji (sorry we didn't get to talk - I tried you on Monday but understand it was a very busy day for you). I'm writing to you now with some information about this forthcoming piece of research under component 4.

1 Overview

This research seeks to explore how SBMC policy has been implemented. It looks at how various community institutions, including SBMCs, are supporting schools. It tries to understand some of the dynamics in policy and practice around these institutions at community level and how they relate to LGEA, state and federal level.

This is a qualitative piece of research focusing on 10 case studies spread across the ESSPIN states. It is not a survey, rather it seeks to look in depth at a variety of cases, covering a variety of interventions including GEP, SESP, COMPASS as well as looking at schools that have had no direct intervention. It will attempt to draw out lessons for ESSPIN by analysing & understanding what works, where and under what circumstances.

The methodology is based on in-depth observations, interviews and PRA tools over a period of 5 days in each community, as well as interviews with LGEA, state and federal level officials.

2 Case study selection

Selection of case studies is purposive. We are interested in including for the most part schools where something is happening or has happened in relation to SBMCs, through interventions including GEP, SESP, COMPASS. We are also interested in selecting some cases where there has been no intervention, since from what we have seen so far during piloting there are plenty of cases with 'home-grown' institutions supporting schools. Proposed case study selection is as follows:

		Interventions	Location
Kano 1	Primary	None	Peri-urban
Kano 2	Primary	SESP	Rural
Kaduna 1	Primary	SESP	Peri-urban
Kaduna 2	Primary	None	Rural
Kwara 1	Primary	SESP	Urban
Kwara 2	Primary	none	Rural
Jigawa 1	Primary	GEP 1	Rural
Jigawa 2	Primary	GEP 2	Rural
Lagos 1	Primary	COMPASS	Urban
Lagos 2	JSS	None	Urban

<https://m1.ioe.ac.uk/exchange/H.Poulsen/Sent%20...ch%20plans.EML?cmd=body&Security=1&unfiltered=1> (1 of 3) [02/04/2009 12:31:50]

ESSPIN

SBMCs in policy and practice

Guidance and tools for SBMC research

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Introduction

The SBMC research is a piece of qualitative research which seeks to clarify how SBMC policy is understood at different levels of the system, and how it is enacted on the ground with particular attention to implications for gender, poverty and the provision of quality education. The research questions are:

5. What are the key policies around SBMCs in Nigeria, and how are they understood by key stakeholders at federal, state, local government, school and community levels?
6. How have these policies been 'enacted' at school and community level?
7. What are the implications of the ways in which SBMC policy has been implemented for questions of gender, poverty and school governance?
8. What strategies do the findings suggest for future ESSPIN research and engagement with SBMCs?

This manual contains instructions, background information, and the tools.

Day-by-day plan

Mon 16th March	Travel to states	STATE
Tues 17th	Preparation, planning & logistics (A&E specialists in Abuja)	
Weds 18th	Tool 1: State interviews (A&E specialists in Abuja)	
Thurs 19th	Tool 2: LGEA interviews (first community) (A&E specialists travel to states)	
Fri 20th	Tool 2: LGEA interviews (second community)	
Sat 21st	Preliminary analysis & write-up	
Sun 22nd		
Mon 23rd	Tool 3: School profile. Gather school data from school registers on enrolment, attendance. Examine SBMC papers & meeting records. Tool 4a: Transect walk Tool 4b: Social resource mapping	COMMUNITY 1
Tues 24th	Tool 5a: SBMC Chair interview Tool 5b: Headteacher interview Tool 5c: Female teacher interview (NOT an SBMC member if possible) Tool 5d: Community leader Tool 5e: Women's group leader	
Weds 25th	Tool 6: SBMC group meeting Tool 7: Student activity	
Thurs 26th	Tool 8: FGD/venn diagram activity with parents: one men's group, one women's group	
Fri 27th	Tool 9: Group feedback meeting	
Sat 28th	Preliminary analysis & write-up	
Sun 29th		
Mon 30th	Tool 3: School profile. Gather school data from school registers on enrolment, attendance. Examine SBMC papers & meeting records. Tool 4a: Transect walk Tool 4b: Social resource mapping	COMMUNITY 2
Tues 31st	Tool 5a: SBMC Chair interview Tool 5b: Headteacher interview Tool 5c: Female teacher interview (NOT an SBMC member if possible) Tool 5d: Community leader Tool 5e: Women's group leader	
Weds 1st April	Tool 6: SBMC group meeting Tool 7: Student activity	
Thurs 2nd	Tool 8: FGD/venn diagram activity with parents: one men's group, one women's group	
Fri 3rd	Tool 9: Group feedback meeting	
Sat 4th	Preliminary analysis & write-up	

Resources

Digital camera

Biros (red, blue and black)

Pencils

3 packs marker pens different colours

1 roll flip chart paper

1 roll masking tape (good quality)

1 pair scissors

*6 large sheets of coloured paper
(different colours)*

Good quality lined notebooks

Plastic folders

Dice

Counters (e.g. bottle tops)

Post-it notes

Ethics

Before you begin each interview or activity, explain:

- *The purpose of the research (see below)*
- *How long the interview or activity will take*
- *That participants/interviews are free to leave at any time*
- *That what is said will be anonymously recorded*
- *That what is said will remain confidential (i.e. you will not tell anyone else what they have said)*
- *For school/community level interviews get verbal consent, i.e. ask “do you agree to participate in this interview/activity?”*
- *For LGEA/State Interviews get written consent, using the information sheets and consent forms provided.*

Purpose

“We are here for the purpose of conducting research on SBMCs for the Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria (ESSPIN), a programme of the Nigerian government, supported by the British government.

We are interested to know about how different communities support their schools.

We will hold a meeting and tell you about what we have found on... (give day).

The information that you give us may be included in a report, and will help us to develop future plans.”

Entry to the community

When you arrive the Community, go to the designated school and meet the Head Teacher [who should have received a letter informing him of your visit. A similar letter should have gone to the Community Leader as well.]

The Head Teacher leads the team to the Community Head. Allow the Head Teacher to make the initial introduction of the team.

The Lead Researcher then explains the purpose of the research and the number of days you will be working in his community. Promise to give a feedback on findings to the Community leader and his team after the research.

Recording

Record your daily field notes in 2 stages:

1 While in the field

- *Background information (e.g. location of interview, how many people are present, their gender)*
- *Key points (both expected and unexpected). Be specific.*
- *Who says what*
- *Whether there is consensus or conflict*
- *Quotations (short phrases that people actually said, in their own words, indicated by quotation marks)*
- *Observations*
- *Non-verbal communication*

2 Reflection

- *Reflections*
- *Preliminary interpretations*
- *Questions for further probing*

Reporting

State research consultants should come to the analysis workshop in April with:

- 1) a completed research manual for each community (either hard copy or electronic). It is very important for the purposes of Helen's doctoral research that you bring this.*
- 2) a prepared preliminary case study presentation (see reporting format – Annex 3).*

Preliminary analysis

Some suggestions:

- For each case, put up a flip chart paper for each element of the reporting format (see Annex 3)*
- Go through your interview notes and highlight each place where that element arises.*
- Write a note on the flip chart summarising the finding, taking care to reference the source (the source could be a direct quote, reported speech, observation, reflection, or other data)*
- When you have gone through all your notes in this way, observe and discuss themes and issues that are arising for each point, including any contradictions, or gaps.*

- *Write up your case study based on these discussions, taking care to reference your sources carefully.*

Example:

PECKHAM PRIMARY SCHOOL

3.5 Motivation & reward

"I do this job because I want to contribute something to the people in my community" (SBMC Chair, interview notes, P.17)

SBMC chair seemed ill at ease when asked this question
(SBMC interview, researcher reflection, p. 18)

Members of the group commented that the SBMC chair, who owns a construction company, wants only to enrich himself through his position, and gave the example of how he pressed for the construction of a new classroom block to be one of the priorities in the recent SDP planning meeting.
(fathers' group interview notes, p.23)

TOOL 1: STATE INTERVIEW

Conduct two interviews in total, selected from the following, depending on who is most involved with SBMCs:

MoE: Director PRS

SUBEB: Director PRS, Director Social Mobilisation

Other: State Chair PTA, CSACEFA representative, NUT representative.

In addition, you may wish to pay a courtesy call to the Permanent Secretary.

Location:	State offices
Resources:	Flip chart paper, marker pens.
Recording:	Record discussions & interactions.

Section 1: Personal information

Gender:

Age/DOB:

Position:

How long have you held this position?

What jobs did you do before this one?

Describe your main responsibilities

Section 2: Understandings of SBMC

The purpose of this exercise is to establish how the interviewee understands actual relationships between SBMC & other institutions – not to discuss how it should be.

Ask your interviewee to draw a diagram to represent the relationship between community, school, SBMC, PTA, LGEA, state and federal levels.

Use the diagram to explore these relationships in relation to the following issues:

Resources

Probe: How do funds flow between the different institutions? How does the state allocate resources to the different levels? How are decisions taken? How are these decisions reported? To whom?

Inclusivity

Probe: If women in the community have a concern about their child's education, who do they approach? If people in the community have a problem paying levies, who do they approach? Whose responsibility is it to ensure that their concerns are heard and acted on? How do women participate in SBMCs?

Communication

Probe: how are policy decisions at State level communicated to LGEA, school and community levels? How are SBMC decisions communicated to other levels? What information from SBMC is communicated to the state? How?

Influence

Probe: to whom is the state and LGEA accountable? To whom is the SBMC accountable? Why? Who monitors SBMC decisions? Who monitors school quality & how? Where are the conflicts and tensions in the system and why?

Section 3: SBMC policy

Who first told you about SBMCs, and when?

Where do you think that the idea of SBMCs originated from?

In your opinion, what is the most important role of SBMCs?

What is the role of women on the SBMC?

What is the role of children on the SBMC?

Section 3: SBMC Implementation

What specific action did you take in order to implement SBMCs in this State?

Specifically, what action have you taken to disseminate the SBMC guidance notes?

How satisfied are you with the implementation of SBMCs in your state? Why?

Probe: challenges

To what extent do you feel that SBMCs have been constituted according to the guidance notes in your state? Why?

What changes have you seen in schools as a result of the introduction of SBMCs? Give concrete examples.

Probe: in relation to girls' education; in relation to improvement of teaching and learning; enrolment, retention; in relation to children whose parents have problems paying for textbooks/levies/other school-related costs.

Do SBMC representatives ever approach you with requests? Give an example. What action did you take as a result?

How do you think SBMCs could be improved? Explain your answer.

Thank the interviewee for his or her time. Note your comments below on:

- *Whether anyone else was present*
- *Quality of the interview (was it open and frank? Or otherwise)*
- *Reflections*
- *Areas for further questioning*

TOOL 2: LGA/LGEA INTERVIEW

Conduct interviews with:

1 Education Secretary

2 One of: Director PRS, Director School Services, LGEA

Social Mobilisation Officer, SBMC/PTA coordinators (whoever is most involved with SBMCs)

Location:	LGEA offices/school.
Resources:	Flip chart, marker pens.
Recording:	Record discussions & interactions.

Section 1: Personal information

Gender:

Age/DOB:

Position:

How long have you held this position?

What jobs did you do before this one?

Describe your main responsibilities

Section 2: Understandings of SBMC

The purpose of this exercise is to establish how the interviewee understands actual relationships between SBMC & other institutions – not to discuss how it should be.

Ask your interviewee to draw a diagram to represent the relationship between community, school, SBMC, PTA, LGEA, state and federal levels.

Use the diagram to explore these relationships in relation to the following issues:

Resources

Probe: How do funds flow between the different institutions? How does the LGEA allocate resources to schools and SBMCs? How are decisions taken? How are these decisions reported? To whom?

Inclusivity

Probe: If women in the community have a concern about their child's education, who do they approach? If people in the community have a problem paying levies, who do they approach? Whose responsibility is it to ensure that their concerns are heard and acted on? Who decides SBMC membership?

Communication

Probe: how are decisions taken at LGEA level communicated to school, SBMC and communities? How are SBMC decisions communicated to the LGEA? What information from SBMCs is communicated to the LGEA? How?

Influence

Probe: to whom is the LGEA accountable? To whom is the SBMC accountable? Why? Who monitors SBMC decisions? Who monitors school quality & how? Where are the conflicts and tensions in the system and why?

Follow-up questions:

- Who first told you about SBMCs, and when?
- Where do you think that the idea of SBMCs originated from?
- What is the main role of SBMCs?
- What is the role of PTA, and how does it differ to SBMC?
- How useful are SBMCs? Why?
- What is your particular role in relation to formation and support of SBMCs?
- What is the role of women on the SBMC?
- What is the role of children on the SBMC?

Section 3: SBMC Implementation

What specific action did you take in order to implement SBMCs in this LGA?

Specifically, what action did you take to disseminate the SBMC guidance notes?

How satisfied are you with the implementation of SBMCs in your LGA? Why?

Probe: challenges

To what extent do you feel that SBMCs have been constituted according to the guidance notes in your state? Why?

What changes have you seen as a result of the introduction of SBMCs? Give concrete examples.

Probe: in relation to girls' education; in relation to improvement of teaching and learning.

Do SBMC representatives ever approach you with requests? Give an example. What action did you take as a result?

How do you think SBMCs could be improved? Explain your answer.

Section 4: SBMCs in the study schools (ask these questions only to the LGEA official who is most knowledgeable about SBMCs at the case study schools)

Tell me about _____ school.

Is it a good school? Why? Is the community supportive? How? Does it have an SBMC? How were members selected? How functional is it? Why? Who calls meetings & draws up the agenda? Does it have a school development plan? If yes, who monitors the implementation? How is reporting structure coordinated? How does the school plan feed into LGEA plans?

Thank the interviewee for his or her time. Note your comments below on:

- *Whether anyone else was present*
- *Quality of the interview (was it open and frank? Or otherwise)*
- *Reflections*
- *Areas for further questioning*

TOOL 3a: SOCIAL AND RESOURCE MAPPING

Location:	Outside the school grounds (so as not to interrupt the school day)
Resources:	Ash, sticks, ropes, leaves, stones, sand, seeds etc
Recording:	Copy map below. Record discussions & interactions.

Instructions:

- 1 Conduct this activity with a mixed group of people – members of the school and members of the community. The exercise is open and anyone may join in. There is no need to call a formal meeting.
- 2 Introduce yourselves and the research.
- 3 Introduce the activity and set ground rules (e.g. no stepping inside the boundary).
- 4 Scene setting: invite members to create boundary, key features (roads, buildings, rivers, institutions)
- 5 Deepening: ask further questions
 - Social groups: What different ethnic, linguistic, religious groups are represented? Are they found in certain areas? Is there a part of the village where poorer/landless people are concentrated?
 - Schools: Are there any other schools or education institutions in the area? Which children go to which schools? Do parents have a choice? Do children come from beyond this catchment to the school, or go from this catchment to other schools? Why? Are there many out-of-school children? Girls or boys? Where do they live? Why?
 - Community groups: which community groups, CBOs, NGOs & other civil society organisations are active within the area (include SBMC, PTA as appropriate)? Indicate houses of SBMC members.
- 6 Agree subsequent field work agenda
- 7 Thanks and close.

TOOL 3b: TRANSECT WALK

Purpose: to learn more about the social, economic and educational resources in the community.

Instructions:

1 Take a walk around the area with 1 or 2 key informants.

2 While on the walk, ask questions about landmarks, activities, and other points of interest.

Further questions:

- What are the major activities, services & infrastructure in the area?
- What educational services are there?
- What projects/interventions have been working in the area?

TOOL 4: SCHOOL PROFILE

Purpose: to observe key features of the school

Location: in and around the school

Recording: Make a brief descriptive comment on the areas below. because it might cause offence initially, don't take too many notes while entering building, write later when going round with HT

Instructions:

- Walk around the school & observe its layout, buildings & facilities with a teacher or Headteacher.
- If permitted, take some photographs (inside a classroom, office, grounds)
- Arrange to look at the school statistics and registers

Section 1: General

Single/double shift?

Has the school received support from any charitable organisations, projects, individuals, LGFA, LGA, State, SUBEB, or other? If so, what?

Record of total school enrolment

Class	Boys	Girls	Total
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
TOTAL			

Register:

Available? Filled in? Absenteesim? Drop outs?

No of teachers (M/F)

Teacher attendance

Is there a staff register? Is the number of teachers present in school the same as the number shown on the register for today?

Section 2: Children & classrooms

In two classes only, one of class 2 and one of class 4:

1. Count all the boys present in class
2. Count all the girls present in class
3. Compare with the register.

Go into a class 6 classroom.

Observe what children are doing & talk to some of the children. Check if they understand what is written on the blackboard.

Are any children in or out of class without a teacher present?

Distance children have to go to get to school

Uniforms.

Are they used? In good condition?

Section 3: Buildings & facilities

Environment

Is it unsanitary, are there dangerous roads, rivers, etc near the school

Grounds

Is there any space outside for games?

Buildings

Number of classrooms, state of repair, size of rooms, floors, windows, lighting, roofs

Seats and desks

Are there any? Type? Are there enough for each child to have one?

Water

Drinking water/ washing water on the premises?

Toilets

Are there any? Are they clean? Are they locked up? If none, where do children go?

Construction

Any? For what? Funded by whom?

Section 4: Teaching & learning materials

For teachers

Are there any in use in class? In HT's office?

For students

Text books/exercise books/pens/pencils. Are there any in use in class? In HT's office?

Wall display

Are Timetables on display? Is there anything else displayed ?

Section 5: SBMC records

Examine SBMC meeting records. Note down:

Date of last meeting.

Agenda.

Issues discussed.

Decisions taken.

Section 6: Other

First aid – is there a first aid box ?

Is there a visitor book? If yes note down the last visit from LGA official/other, with what purpose.

TOOL 5a: INTERVIEW SBMC CHAIR

Location:	In school or SBMC Chair's house
Resources:	Copy of 'Guidance notes for SBMCs' (see annex)
Recording:	Record discussions & interactions.

Section 1: Personal information

3a.1 Gender:

3a.2 Age/DOB:

3a.3 How long have you been SBMC Chair?

3a.4 Occupation/professional background:

Section 2: SBMC policy

Who first told you about SBMCs, and when?

What is the main role of the SBMC?

Have you seen a copy of the SBMC guidelines?

If yes, do you use the guidelines? How?

If not, who defines your roles and activities? How?

Section 3: SBMC chair role

What are your main duties as SBMC chair?

How did you come to be SBMC chair?

Appointed? If so by whom? Elected? If so how?

What personal qualities does SBMC Chair need?

What are the advantages of being SBMC chair?

What are the disadvantages of being SBMC chair?

If you were invited to be Chair again, would you accept? Why?

Section 4: SBMC profile & activities

When was the SBMC established?

Who are the members of the SBMC?

List members & their category of membership. Compare with the SBMC guidance notes. Ask about any discrepancies.

How were the members appointed?

Are there any women members of the SBMC?

If no, ask why.

If there are women members: to what extent do they contribute in decision making?

What training, capacity building & support activities have SBMC members had?

If any, how useful were they?

Does the SBMC have any subcommittees? If so, what?

Does your SBMC have a bank account? If yes, who are the signatories?

How frequently are SBMC meetings held?

What was the date of the last SBMC meeting?

What were the main issues discussed at that meeting?

Name one decision taken at the last meeting. Was this decision communicated further? To whom? How?

When is the next scheduled meeting?

To date, what activities has the SBMC undertaken?

Probe: in relation to girls' education; in relation to improvement of teaching and learning; in relation to children whose parents have problems paying for textbooks & other school-related costs.

What changes have you seen in the school or community as a result of the SBMC's activities? Give concrete examples.

Probe: in relation to girls' education; in relation to improvement of teaching and learning; in relation to children whose parents have problems paying for textbooks & other school-related costs.

What are the main challenges faced by the SBMC? Why?

Probe: conflicts, resources, communication, monitoring and women's participation/representation

How do you think the SBMC could be improved? Explain your answer.

Is there a School Development Plan? If yes, go on to Section 3. If no, end the interview.

Section 5: Additional questions for SBMCs with a School Development Plan

Describe how the plan was developed.

Role of SBMC. Role of community. Role of LGA.

What are the key elements of the plan?

Where is the plan kept?

Thank the interviewee for his or her time. Note your comments below on:

- *Whether anyone else was present*
- *Quality of the interview (was it open and frank? Or otherwise)*
- *Reflections*
- *Areas for further questioning*

TOOL 5b: HEADTEACHER INTERVIEW

Location:	In school
Recording:	Record discussions & interactions.

Section 1: Personal information

3a.1 Gender:

3a.2 Age/DOB:

3a.3 How long have you been Headteacher at this school?

3a.4 Highest teaching qualification

Section 2: Community – school links

Tell us about the children who come to your school.

Where do they come from? What do their parents do? Would you say that they are able to pay for the costs of schooling (textbooks, uniforms, levies) easily/not very easily/mixed?

What do members of the local community do to support the school?

How often do they visit? Do they donate money or resources? Many people, or just a few, influential people?

Do you communicate information about the school (e.g. exam results, achievements) to parents and other members of the community?

If yes, how often? Give an example.

If no, why not?

Are there any local organisations that support the school? If so which?

For each organisation mentioned, find out its main activities, membership and support to the school.

Is there a PTA at your school? If yes, what is the main role of the PTA?

Is there an SBMC at your school? If yes, go to section 3. If no, go to section 4.

Section 3: SBMC

Who first informed you about SBMC, and how?

By letter? In person?

What did you do in order to establish the SBMC?

What is the main role of the SBMC?

What is your role on the SBMC?

What is the role of women members on the SBMC?
If there are no women members, ask why.

What is the role of student members of the SBMC?
If there are no student members, ask why.

Have you seen the SBMC guidance notes?
If yes, do you use it? How?

What is the main difference between PTA and SBMC?

How do the PTA and SBMC work together?
Probe: conflicts

How do you think the SBMC could be improved? Explain your answer.

Is there a School Development Plan? If yes, go on to Section 3. If no, go on to Section 4.

Section 3: Additional questions for schools with a School Development Plan

Describe how the plan was developed.

Role of SBMC. Role of community. Role of LGA.

What are the key elements of the plan?

Where is the plan kept?

Section 4: Roles & responsibilities

Whose responsibility is it to repair the roof if it blows off? Explain.

Whose responsibility is it if a child in class 6 cannot read? Explain.

Who is responsible for making decisions about the school budget? Explain.

Whose responsibility is it to prepare and implement a school development plan? Explain.

Thank the interviewee for his or her time. Note your comments below on:

- *Whether anyone else was present*
- *Quality of the interview (was it open and frank? Or otherwise)*
- *Reflections*
- *Areas for further questioning*

TOOL 5c: FEMALE TEACHER INTERVIEW

The female teacher should not be an SBMC member, if possible. If no female teacher is available, interview a male teacher who is not an SBMC member.

Location:	In school
Recording:	Note key points and include some quotations (clearly indicated with quotation marks)

Section 1: Personal information

3a.1 Gender:

3a.2 Age/DOB:

3a.3 How long have you been a teacher at this school?

3a.4 Highest teaching qualification

Section 2: Girls' education

Tell us about the children that you teach.

Where do they come from? What do their parents do? Would you say that they are able to pay for the costs of schooling (textbooks, uniforms, levies) easily/not very easily/mixed?

Refer to the school register and the numbers of boys and girls enrolled. Ask the teacher to explain any discrepancy, eg why are there more boys than girls enrolled? What are the barriers to girls enrolling, participating and achieving at school?

Section 3: Community support for education

What do members of the local community do to support you?

Do they visit regularly? Donate money or resources? Many people, or just a few, influential people?

Are there any local organisations that support you? If so which?

For each organisation mentioned, find out its main activities and membership.

Is there a PTA at your school?

What is the main role of the PTA?

Have you heard of an SBMC at your school? If yes, go to section 3. If no, go to section 4.

Section 3: SBMC

Who first informed you about SBMC, and how?

What is the main role of the SBMC?

Are you an SBMC member?

If yes: how were you appointed? what is your role on the SBMC? How do you communicate SBMC decisions to your fellow teachers?
If no: can you name any members?

What is the role of women members on the SBMC?
If there are no women members, ask why.

What is the role of student members of the SBMC?
If there are no student members, ask why.

How does the PTA work with the SBMC?
Probe: conflict

What changes have you seen in the school or community as a result of the SBMC's activities? Give concrete examples.
Probe: in relation to girls' education; in relation to improvement of teaching and learning; in relation to children whose parents have problems paying for textbooks & other school-related costs.

How do you think the SBMC could be improved? Explain your answer.

Is there a School Development Plan? If yes, go on to Section 3. If no, go on to Section 4.

Section 3: Additional questions for schools with a School Development Plan

Describe how the plan was developed.

Role of SBMC. Role of community. Role of LGA. Role of women.

What are the key elements of the plan?

Where is the plan kept?

Section 4: Roles & responsibilities

Whose responsibility is it to repair the roof if it blows off? Explain.

Whose responsibility is it if a child in class 6 cannot read? Explain.

Who is responsible for making decisions about the school budget? Explain.

Whose responsibility is it to prepare a school development plan? Explain.

Thank the interviewee for his or her time. Note your comments below on:

- *Whether anyone else was present*
- *Quality of the interview (was it open and frank? Or otherwise)*
- *Reflections*
- *Areas for further questioning*

TOOL 5d: COMMUNITY LEADER INTERVIEW

Location:	At community leader's home
Recording:	Record discussions & interactions.

Section 1: Personal information

Gender:

Age/DOB:

Occupation/professional background

Section 2: Community – school links

Tell us about education in your community.

What are the different schools? Are you satisfied with them? Do most children attend school? What about girls?

What do members of the local community do to support the school?

Do they visit regularly? Donate money or resources? Many people, or just a few, influential people?

Are there any local organisations that support the school? If so which?

For each organisation mentioned, find out its main activities and membership.

Is there a PTA at your school?

What is the main role of the PTA?

Is there an SBMC at your school? If yes, go to section 3. If no, go to section 4.

Section 3: SBMC

Who first informed you about SBMC, and how?

By letter? In person? Poster? Radio or TV?

What did you do in order to establish the SBMC?

What is the main role of the SBMC?

What is your role on the SBMC?

What is the role of women members on the SBMC?

If there are no women members, ask why.

What is the role of student members of the SBMC?

If there are no student members, ask why.

How does the PTA work with the SBMC?

Probe: are there any areas of conflict? Any areas of joint work (e.g. resource mobilisation, utilisation and accounting, developing a plan)?

What changes have you seen in the school or community as a result of the SBMC's activities? Give concrete examples.

Probe: in relation to girls' education; in relation to improvement of teaching and learning; in relation to children whose parents have problems paying for textbooks & other school-related costs.

How do you think the SBMC could be improved? Explain your answer.

Is there a School Development Plan? If yes, go on to Section 4. If no, go on to Section 5.

Section 4: Additional questions for schools with a School Development Plan

Describe how the plan was developed.

Role of SBMC. Role of community. Role of LGA. Role of women. Role of PTA.

What are the key elements of the plan?

Where is the plan kept?

Section 5: Roles & responsibilities

Whose responsibility is it to repair the roof if it blows off? Explain.

Whose responsibility is it if a child in class 6 cannot read? Explain.

Who is responsible for making decisions about the school budget? Explain.

Whose responsibility is it to prepare a school development plan? Explain.

Thank the interviewee for his or her time. Note your comments below on:

- *Whether anyone else was present*
- *Quality of the interview (was it open and frank? Or otherwise)*
- *Reflections*
- *Areas for further questioning*

TOOL 5e: WOMEN'S GROUP LEADER

If there is no women's group select a male CBO/NGO representative who is NOT an SBMC member.

Location:	At home
Recording:	Record discussions & interactions.

Section 1: Personal information

3a.1 Gender:

3a.2 Age/DOB:

3a.3 Occupation/professional background

3a.3 Position

Section 2: Community – school links

Tell us about your organisation.

Aims, membership, activities

Tell us about education in your community.

Are you satisfied with the schools? Why? Do most children attend school? What about girls? Are there any barriers to girls attending, participating & achieving & school? What are they and why?

Which school do members of your group send their children to? Why?

What do members of your group do if they have a problem with their child's education?

Is there a PTA at your school?

What is the main role of the PTA?

Is there an SBMC at your school? If yes, go to section 3. If no, go to section 4.

Section 3: SBMC

Who first informed you about SBMC, and how?

By letter? In person?

What is the main role of the SBMC?

What is the role of women members on the SBMC?

If there are no women members, ask why.

Has the SBMC done anything to promote education for girls? If yes, what? With what effect?

What is the role of student members of the SBMC?
If there are no student members, ask why.

How does the PTA work with the SBMC?

What changes have you seen in the school or community as a result of the SBMC's activities? Give concrete examples.
Probe: in relation to girls' education; in relation to improvement of teaching and learning; in relation to children whose parents have problems paying for textbooks & other school-related costs.

How do you think the SBMC could be improved? Explain your answer.

Is there a School Development Plan? If yes, go on to Section 3. If no, go on to Section 4.

Section 3: Additional questions for schools with a School Development Plan

Describe how the plan was developed.

Role of SBMC. Role of community. Role of LGA. Role of women.

What are the key elements of the plan?

Where is the plan kept?

Section 4: Roles & responsibilities

Whose responsibility is it to repair the roof if it blows off? Explain.

Whose responsibility is it if a child in class 6 cannot read? Explain.

Who is responsible for making decisions about the school budget? Explain.

Whose responsibility is it to prepare a school development plan? Explain.

Thank the interviewee for his or her time. Note your comments below on:

- *Whether anyone else was present*
- *Quality of the interview (was it open and frank? Or otherwise)*
- *Reflections*
- *Areas for further questioning*

TOOL 6: SBMC FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION

Gather as many members of SBMC together as possible. The Headteacher need not attend as you will already have interviewed him/her.

Location:	Outside the school grounds (so as not to interrupt the school day)
Resources:	Flip chart paper, selection of coloured paper circles (small, medium and large), marker pens, masking tape.
Recording:	Take a digital photo of venn diagrams if possible, or copy the diagram below. Record discussions & interactions

Instructions:

1 Put a coloured circle in the middle of the flipchart to represent the SBMC. Ask participants which other institutions and individuals they relate with, both within & outside the community.

2 Next, ask them to decide which organisation deserves a small, medium or large circle, according to its relative importance. Write the name on each circle.

3 Ask which institutions work together or have overlapping memberships & place them as follows:

- Separate circles = no contact
- Touching circles = information passes between organisations
- Small overlap = some co-operation in decision-making
- Large overlap = a lot of co-operation in decision making

(Prompt to ensure school, PTA & LGA are included)

Further questions

- Relationships: Can you briefly describe the relationships between these institutions. What are the challenges? Have there been any conflicts or crises in the relationships? If so, how were they resolved?
- Communication: what decisions are taken? How does the SBMC communicate its decisions to the other institutions? To whom? How frequently?
- Communication: how does information from the LGEA (eg UBE, resources, decisions, school development plans/budget, implementation) get communicated to the SBMC? How does the SBMC communicate information (e.g. on decisions, plans, activities) to the wider community? To the LGEA? Power & influence: which institutions are more/less powerful? Who takes decisions on eg resources, teachers, students, learning issues.
- Accountability: who is the SBMC accountable to? Who is the school accountable to? Who is the LGA accountable to? If the roof of the school were to blow off, what would be the role of the SBMC in mending it?
- If a student in class 6 is unable to read and write, whose responsibility is it?
- Whose responsibility is it to make decisions about the school budget (i.e. what the budget is to be spent on?)
- What power does the SBMC have over school budget, teachers, monitoring pupils' performance?

TOOL 7: STUDENT ACTIVITY

Select 6 students from Primary 6 (3 boys and 3 girls), including the head boy and head girl if possible.

Location:	Classroom
Resources:	Cards with questions written on them, dice, counters (e.g. bottle tops).
Recording:	Record discussions & interactions.

Instructions:

- 1 Prepare in advance cards with questions & a game board on flip chart paper.
- 2 Ask the questions as part of a game where if the child lands on a certain square, or throws a certain number, he or she gets a question.
- 3 Include some unrelated, 'fun' questions too.

Questions:

1. What do you know about any committee in your school?
SBMC or any other committee

-
2. What do they do?

-
3. How does this help the school?

-
4. Do you know name of the chairperson of the SBMC?

-
5. Do you know the name of anybody else who is a member?

-
6. Are there any children from your school who are members of SBMC?

-
7. Can you name them?

-
8. What do children in your school who are on the SBMC tell other pupils?
-

TOOL 8: GROUP DISCUSSION WITH FATHERS/MOTHERS

Location:	Outside the school grounds (so as not to interrupt the school day)
Resources:	flip chart paper, selection of coloured paper circles (small medium and large), marker pens, masking tape.
Recording:	Copy/photograph diagram below. Record discussions & interactions.

Instructions:

- 1 Do this exercise once with a group of FATHERS, once with a group of MOTHERS. Each group should comprise 6-8 people, a mixture of ages and backgrounds. Try to discourage authority figures – Headteacher, LGEA officials, from attending, so that you get a different perspective.
- 2 Introduce yourselves and the research.
- 3 Overview and purpose of the activity.
- 4 Ask participants to list the local groups and organisations and outside institutions that are most important to them.
- 5 Next, ask them to decide which organisation deserves a small, medium or large circle, according to its relative importance. Write the name on each circle.
- 6 Ask which institutions work together or have overlapping memberships & place them as follows:
 - Separate circles = no contact
 - Touching circles = information passes between organisations
 - Small overlap = some co-operation in decision-making
 - Large overlap = a lot of co-operation in decision making

(Prompt to ensure school, SBMC & LGA are included)

7 Further questions

- Relationships: how are relationships between these institutions? Any crisis? If so how resolved?
- Communication: does the SBMC communicate its decisions to you? If so how? How frequently?
- Communication: If you have a problem with your child's education, who do you go to?
- Power & influence: which institutions are more/less powerful? Who makes decisions?
- Accountability: who is the SBMC accountable to? Who is the school accountable to? Who is the LGA accountable to?
- If the roof of the school were to blow off, whose responsibility is it?
- If a student in class 6 is unable to read and write, whose responsibility is it?
- Whose responsibility is it to make decisions about the school budget (i.e. what the budget is to be spent on?)

TOOL 8: COMMUNITY MEETING

Location:	Outside the school grounds (so as not to interrupt the school day)
Resources:	flip chart paper, selection of coloured paper circles (small medium and large), marker pens, masking tape. List of key learning points from the week for feedback.
Recording:	Record discussions & interactions.

Instructions

- 1 Prepare key learning points
- 2 Hold a planning meeting with key individuals, including SBMC Chair, Headteacher, Community leader. Agree on the agenda, facilitation of the meeting.
- 3 Suggested agenda:
 - Introduction to the research (research team)
 - Objectives of the meeting (community leader)
 - Research feedback (research team)
 - Response (community members)
 - SBMC feedback (SBMC chair)
 - Questions
- 4 Wrap up with thanks.

Annex 1: Research outline

School Based Management Committees (SBMCS) in policy and practice in Nigeria

Background

- **Rationale**

The problems of Nigeria's education system are well documented. There is poor access to education, particularly for girls and the poorest citizens. Net primary school attendance was only 64% for boys and 57% for girls in 2003. In the north in particular, the situation is worse – only 34% of girls attend school⁴⁶. For those who do have access, the quality of education is poor⁴⁷.

School Management Committees are promoted in international and national development policy as a way to improve the quality of education provision and to promote democracy at the local level.

International experience suggests that SBMCs can, in certain conditions, be linked to improvements but the evidence is limited and in some cases contradictory.

In Nigeria, recent changes in education policy have sought to introduce School Based Management Committees (SBMCs) across the country. A number of different programmes and initiatives have been supporting the establishment and functioning of SBMCs (e.g. GEP, ActionAid, CSACEFA, CAPP projects). There is, however, a lack of research on whether and how SBMC policy is being implemented on the ground, and what effect SBMCs are having on communities and on schools.

The DfID-supported Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria (ESSPIN) project provides an important opportunity to review what has been done so far and what shape future support to SBMCs might take. This research, therefore, seeks to clarify how this policy is understood at different levels of the system, and how it is enacted on the ground with particular attention to implications for gender, poverty and the provision of quality education.

- **Brief overview of the literature**

Recent years have seen an increased focus on community participation in education in international development policy and practice. Bray⁴⁸ suggests that this increase should be seen in the context of a worldwide shift by the 1980s towards privatisation in the public sector, including education, because government operations were seen as inefficient and unresponsive to changing circumstances. One of the reasons why the trend towards community-based solutions was attractive to governments was that it meant parents, communities and civil society taking on some of the financial and other burdens of education. In terms of outcomes, Bray notes positive results in terms of recruitment, retention and attendance of pupils, and improved learning outcomes. However, his findings indicate that there are aspects of school effectiveness where community impact is limited, for example in supply and training of teachers. He further notes that community participation can increase geographical and social disparities between communities, 'because the groups that are already advantaged are in a better position to help themselves than the disadvantaged groups'.

Rose's⁴⁹ study of the impact that community participation has had on improving gender equity in educational outcomes in sub-Saharan Africa indicates a mixed picture. There is evidence that *under the right conditions* community participation can contribute to increased rates of enrolment for girls. However, there is limited evidence for improved achievement and transition. Indeed, 'As an end in itself, community participation in schooling appears to have resulted in an entrenchment and reinforcement of gender relations, rather than empowering those traditionally excluded from more genuine aspects of participation'.

Burde⁵⁰ notes that approaches to community participation in education are often not well implemented and have unrealistic aims and objectives. It is 'a complex tool that can be manipulated in multiple ways to varying effect... To the extent that it works to increase the efficiency and quality of social services,

⁴⁶ World Bank. (2005). *Empowering people by transforming institutions: Social development in World Bank operations*.

⁴⁷ Federal Government of Nigeria. (2004). *Nigeria: National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy*. Abuja, Nigeria: National Planning Commission.

⁴⁸ Bray, M. (2000). *Community Partnerships in Education: Dimensions, Variations and Implications*. *EFA thematic study*. Dakar.

⁴⁹ Rose, P. (2003). *Communities, gender and education: Evidence from sub-Saharan Africa*. *Background paper for 2003 UNESCO Global Monitoring Report*.

⁵⁰ Burde, D. (2004). "Weak state, strong community? Promoting community participation in post-conflict countries." *Current issues in comparative education* 6(2).

participation may provide a patchwork solution to systemic problems, veiling more profound and contentious issues of structural change and political representation'. Burde therefore argues that community participation should complement and check the state, not replace it. In summary, the evidence from these selected sources suggests that the impact of community participation as a strategy is mixed, with a strong indication of the need to retain a focus on understanding the communities as unique and differentiated, if school management committees and other community participation initiatives are to be successful. The other indication is that community participation strategies are not the solution to educational problems; but they might be useful as part of a range of strategies to tackling complex problems. A more comprehensive review of the national and international literature will be required to confirm these early conclusions.

The theoretical approach of this study draws on critical policy analysis, gender theory and critical approaches to community. For example, it will employ the concept of recontextualisation⁵¹: that is, the ways in which policies change when they interact with new contexts. Crucial to this is an analysis of 'fields of contest', that is, the disputes and conflicts that take place at national, local and institutional levels, their changing relationships and their inter-penetration⁵². It is also informed by literature on gender and development which views an understanding of the gendered power relations as crucial to analysing and understanding institutions. In addition the research is informed by a critical approach to the concept of community; that is, one that questions a unitary and homogeneous view of community.

Research questions

- What are the key policies around SBMCs in Nigeria, and how are they understood by key stakeholders at federal, state, local government, school and community levels?
- How have these policies been 'enacted' at school and community level?
- What are the implications of the ways in which SBMC policy has been implemented for questions of gender, poverty and school governance?
- What strategies do the findings suggest for future ESSPIN research and engagement with SBMCs?

Methodology

Phase 1: Literature review

A review of the literature on the impact and effectiveness of community participation initiatives, including SBMCs, in Nigeria will be conducted. This review will feed into the Situational Analysis of Basic Education Service Delivery in Nigeria, to be conducted as part of the research strategy for the inception phase.⁵³

Phase 2: Setting up the research.

During this preliminary phase, TORs for the field researchers will be developed, and field and state researchers will be recruited; detailed methodology and tools will be developed, researchers will be trained and tools will be piloted. Training and piloting will take place in one of the study states.

Phase 3: Field research

Field research will be conducted in Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Kwara and Lagos states. This will be a qualitative piece of research because it seeks to explore what is happening and why at school community level in relation to SBMCs. In-depth case studies will be conducted in two communities in each of the four study states – 10 case studies in total. These case studies will use a mixture of methodological approaches including interviews, observation and participatory research to develop a detailed SBMC, school and community profiles. These profiles will help to clarify questions about who SBMC members are, what kind of activities they are involved in and why, how they see their roles, and what relationships exist between SBMC members, different community members, teachers, parents and others. We envisage the development of a SBMC profiling 'tool' which could be used more broadly and/or used to revisit these communities over a period of time to track changes.

A crucial element of this research will be the opportunity it presents for capacity building within state ministries of education and Local Government Authorities (LGAs). The research will therefore be conducted by one state/LGA official (state researcher) and one field researcher, supported by State Consultants in each of the five states. Researchers will work in state-based pairs. Each pair will spend 5

⁵¹ See e.g. Bernstein, B. (1990). *The structuring of pedagogic discourse*. London, Routledge.

⁵² Ball, S. (1998). Big Policies/Small World: An Introduction to International Perspectives in Education Policy. *Comparative Education*, 34(2).

⁵³ Akyeampong, K. (2009). *Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria (ESSPIN). Research strategy for inception phase*. Abuja: ESSPIN. See Annex A for draft literature review questions.

days in each community, 3 days interviewing LGA & state officials, plus 2 days writing up time – i.e. 15 working days in each state.

At federal, state and local government level, semi-structured interviews will be conducted with government officials and representatives of NGOs and donor organisations to explore understandings of SBMC policy.

Phase 4: Analysis

Analysis will be conducted collaboratively over a 2-week period by the full research team,. This is based on the belief that research findings with a large team of researchers working in diverse contexts are best discussed collaboratively at the initial stage of analysis in order to make best use of the data.

Phase 5: Writing up

The writing of the final report will be led by the lead researcher, with assistance from the rest of the research team. A full report and summary report will be produced.

Phase 6: Dissemination & design/planning of follow up

The following outputs are planned:

- A presentation of preliminary findings will be made after the analysis phase in mid April, timed to feed into the inception report of ESSPIN.
- A full and summary report will be produced by end of July.
- A conference paper will be developed for UKFIET 2009 – effect of EFA on communities theme – to be lead by CR with support of LR. This may also be developed into a journal paper.

There will be options to extend the research so that it can feed into ESSPIN research strategy & ESSPIN monitoring.

Annex 2: Guidance notes for SBMCs

A. OBJECTIVES OF THE SCHOOL BASED MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE (SBMC):

- engender community's interest in schools in their localities with a view to their assuming ownership of their schools
- provide mechanism for more effective management at school level
- provide the head-teacher with various forms of support to enhance the administration of schools
- provide a platform on which the community and schools pool resources together to enrich schools management
- provide communities and LGEAs with a new mechanism through which they can demand accountability from school managers (i.e. school head)
- help the school in the formulation of its mission statement and articulation of its vision
- provide a legal framework for involving all stakeholders in the planning monitoring and evaluation of education at the school level
- provide and update a school development plan on an annual and longer term basis.

B. EXPECTED OUTCOME OF THE SCHOOL BASED MANAGEMENT COMMITTEES:

- increased committee participation in education delivery and ownership of basic education institutions as their schools
- strengthened school management mechanisms
- enhanced school head support for effective school administration

- enriched school management resource pool
- an accountable school management system
- reliable capacity for action planning, policy formulation and school administration
- an inclusive and acceptable framework for stakeholders' involvement in programme implementation
- timely (short term and long term) school development plans
- enhanced whole school development strategy put in place.

C GUIDELINES FOR CONSTITUTION OF COMMITTEE:

In constituting a School Based Management committee (SBMC), members should be drawn from the following categories:

- one member of the traditional council
- two representatives of the community development body (1 male and 1 female)
- the school head
- two other teachers (1 male and 1 female)
- two representatives of the student body (head boy and head girl)
- one representative of women's organizations
- two representatives of appropriate faith-based organizations (1 male and 1 female)
- two representatives of the old pupils' association (1 male and 1 female)
- representatives of artisans/ professional bodies (1 male and 1 female)
- two representatives of the PTA (1 male and 1 female)
- representative of youth groups
- representative of civil society organizations.

D MODE OF CONSTITUTING THE SBMC

On the basis of categorization for composition of the SBMC, some members such as the PTA, Old Pupils' Association and the community development Associations would be nominated by their bodies while others would be selected

E. TENURE OF THE SBMC

The committee members shall serve a term of one to two years in the first instance but this is renewable and a member can be eligible for one further term only. It should be noted that the chairman/ person of the SBMC committee should be literate and have a passion for improving the quality (standard) of education in the community. However it is also important that parents are not barred from membership in the committees where literacy is low.

F. FREQUENCY OF THE COMMITTEE MEETINGS

The SBMC shall meet twice a term except in emergency situations.

G TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR SCHOOL BASED MANAGEMENT COMMITTEES

School Based Management Committees (SBMCs) are envisaged as central to community involvement and partnership for quality basic education delivery. In recognition of the crucial role of stakeholders in basic education within host communities, the setting up and proper functioning of SBMCs is central to the attainment of an all inclusive process of basic education administration and management and the successful implementation of Universal Basic Education programme in Nigeria. Upon establishment the committee is to discharge/undertake the following activities:

- draw up an action plan to ensure result oriented approach to the administration of the local school and the effective participation of all stakeholders in the UBE programme
- identify basic education delivery targets to be reached and suggest possible methods of achieving them
- draw up modalities for involving strategic community organizations, NGOs, the media, PTAs, Teacher unions, civil society organizations etc. towards providing professional inputs to enhance the attainment of all school goals
- provide strategies for translating related state and LGEA Education Action plans into effective tools for advocacy and mobilization to tackling issues affecting the school specific community educational challenges
- draw up strategies that may lead to better community understanding of the implications of social, cultural and legislative reforms that will aid the attainment of quality basic education in the school with a view to enhancing the whole school development
- suggest ways to address other issues affecting the attainment of quality basic education as well as enhance the full involvement of all stakeholders in pursuit of redressing the negative trends and provide any other such advisory roles that may be crucial to rendering effective basic education programmes within the school
- co-ordinate in liaison with the community the setting up of sub-communities to handle school improvement projects, e.g. Self help, School Feeding Programme, provision of water, health and hygiene facilities and maintenance of existing facilities. Draw up strategies that can promote new sets of attitudes and culture for the attainment of the goals and objectives of the UBE programme within the community/school
- initiate contacts towards establishing functional networks with other schools, LGEAs and other relevant agencies to establish acceptable means of motivating teachers, improving and ensuring friendly atmosphere in the school

- suggest any other issue that will enhance the general attainment of quality basic education delivery and sustainable school management.

G SPECIFIC ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES:

- collaborating with PTA in the sensitisation and mobilization of parents on enrolment, attendance and retention of their children or wards in schools
- monitoring staff with regards to attendance at school and effectiveness in curriculum delivery
- supporting the head teacher in innovative leadership and effective management of schools
- monitoring of the school physical facilities with a TOR ensuring their proper maintenance
- assisting in the procurement of teaching/ learning materials and resources
- reporting to the LGEA on a regular basis on developments in the school
- serving as medium of transmission of skills, knowledge, values and traditions of the community
- assisting the head teacher in treating discipline problems in the school
- ensuring adequate security for human and material resources in the school
- rendering annual statement of account, income and expenditure
- identifying staff requirement
- assisting in drawing up action plan for effective participation of all stakeholders in UBE programme
- initiate contact for functional network with other schools, LGEAs and other relevant agencies so as to motivate teachers, improved facilities and ensure learner friendly atmosphere
- collaborate with school authority to set up sub-committees to handle school improvement projects e.g. Self-Help, HGSFHP etc
- any other issues that can lead to attainment of quality basic education delivery.

Annex 3: Reporting format

1 Introduction

Introduction to the school & the community

2 Community-based institutions that support the school

SBMC, PTA, others – background

3 Resources 3.1 Financial & other material resources 3.2 Skills & capacity 3.3 Training and support 3.4 Networks 3.5 Motivation & reward	4 Inclusivity 4.1 Membership 4.2 Processes of formation 4.3 Role of women 4.4 Role of poor 4.5 Role of children
5 Communication 5.1 Profile & presence of SBMC 5.2 Communication of SBMC decisions to the wider community 5.3 Communication between school and SBMC 5.4 Communication between LGEA & SBMC 5.5 Tensions & conflict	6 Influence 6.1 Accountability 6.2 Within the SBMC, who makes the decisions 6.3 SBMC power and influence in relation to school and other local institutions (horizontal) 6.4 SBMC power and influence in relation to LGA (vertical) 6.5 Possibilities for promoting collective action for change

7 Improving education

7.1 *How do the organisations that you have observed contribute towards improved education?*

Access? Equity? Quality?

7.2 *What works in this context? Why?*

BE SPECIFIC

GIVE EXAMPLES

Appendix 5: Extract from researchers' field notes

Date: 19/03/2009

Researcher(s): Mrs. Pelicia Oribon
Dr. Mrs. Funke Opatokun

TOOL 2: LGA/LGEA INTERVIEW

Conduct interviews with:

1 Education Secretary

2 One of: Director PRS, Director School Services, LGEA Social Mobilisation Officer, SBMC/PTA coordinators (whoever is most involved with SBMCs)

Location: LGEA offices/school.

Resources: Flip chart, marker pens.

Recording: Record discussions & interactions.

Section 1: Personal information

2.1.1 Gender: Male

2.1.2 Age/DOB: 50 yrs

2.1.3 Position: Planning Research + Services
SBMC Coordinator / PRS Officer

2.1.4 How long have you held this position?

Two years

2.1.5 What jobs did you do before this one?

Teaching

2.1.6 Describe your main responsibilities: To see that the schools establish their SBMCs appropriately and ensure that they meet regularly.

Section 2: Understandings of SBMC

Date: 19/03/09

Researcher(s): Mrs Felicia Onuban
Dr Mrs Funke Opatokun

The purpose of this exercise is to establish how the interviewee understands actual relationships between SBMC & other institutions – not to discuss how it should be.

Ask your interviewee to draw a diagram to represent the relationship between community, school, SBMC, PTA, LGEA, state and federal levels.

Use the diagram to explore these relationships in relation to the following issues:

2.2.1 Resources

Probe: How do funds flow between the different institutions? How does the LGEA allocate resources to schools and SBMCs? How are decisions taken? How are these decisions reported? To whom?

2.2.2 Inclusivity

Probe: If women in the community have a concern about their child's education, who do they approach? If people in the community have a problem paying levies, who do they approach? Whose responsibility is it to ensure that their concerns are heard and acted on? Who decides SBMC membership?

2.2.3 Communication

Probe: how are decisions taken at LGEA level communicated to school, SBMC and communities? How are SBMC decisions communicated to the LGEA? What information from SBMCs is communicated to the LGEA? How?

2.2.4 Influence

Probe: to whom is the LGEA accountable? To whom is the SBMC accountable? Why? Who monitors SBMC decisions? Who monitors school quality & how? Where are the conflicts and tensions in the system and why?

- 2.2.1 - Federal funds come from UBEC in addition to state matching funds. LGEA at times provide furniture, etc. Com
- LGEA does not give
 - Decisions are participat
 - Decisions are Communicate with the Headmasters.
- 2.2.2 - When women have their children's education directly to the head to Head of School service
- eg or
resource
flow

- Education Secretary is responsible for ensuring that their concerns are taken care of.
- Membership of SBMC is constituted jointly

2.2.2 Communication

- Parents/Headmasters are informed through letters and circulars.

- SBMC is accountable to SUBEB
- " " Community members

- SBMCs are monitored by the SBMC
- the LGEA Office; by monitoring through the Local School

SBMC
happy school
needs.

(P)

SBMC started, the PTA felt the SBMC is usurping their power. but the secretary had to invite the PTA and explained issues to them. conflict was resolved.

- Hearing about SBMC in 2007 through the State Ministry of Education.
- SBMC Originated from the State MOE.
- The role of the SBMC is to assist the schools in identifying their needs, control truancy among teachers and pupils, assist in enrolment drive and encourage retention, convince parents to bring drop outs back to school.
- Role of the PTA is to help in the day to day affairs of the school.

Date: 19/03/09

Mrs Felicia Onibon
Researcher(s): Dr Mrs Funke Opedun

Follow-up questions:

- Who first told you about SBMCs, and when?
- Where do you think that the idea of SBMCs originated from?
- What is the main role of SBMCs?
- What is the role of PTA, and how does it differ to SBMC?
- How useful are SBMCs? Why?
- What is your particular role in relation to formation and support of SBMCs?
- What is the role of women on the SBMC?
- What is the role of children on the SBMC?

- PTA meets once in a while, SBMC meets more often.

PTA are those with children in the school while SBMC are representatives of diverse community members.

- SBMCs are very useful as they help to relieve the LGEA in some activities like monitoring.

- The Coordinators from the LGEA Office go round to monitor and are well established.

- Women encourage other by sensitizing them; part purdah. Women on SBMC

- Children are also very

SBMC relieve LGEA.

(Can)

Date: 19/03/09

Researcher(s): Mrs Felicia Onibon
Dr. Mrs Funke Opatokun

Section 3: SBMC Implementation

2.3.1 What specific action did you take in order to implement SBMCs in this LGA?

Training of SBMC members
Attendance of SBMC meetings
Sensitization of SBMC members at inception.

2.3.2 Specifically, what action did you take to disseminate the SBMC guidance notes?

Headmasters were invited and given the SBMC guidance notes.

2.3.3 How satisfied are you with the implementation of SBMCs in your LGA? Why?

Highly satisfied about the out-
Probe: what challenges do you face? How have you resolved them?
Several challenges: absenteeism,
planting season. Members complain
being given, sitting allowance
funds should be monitored
and treasurers at times keep

Can
Strict compliance
necessary in
place to get
things!

Unplan.

2.3.4 To what extent do you feel that SBMCs have been constituted
guidance notes in your state? Why?

A To a very large extent
- Because of the strict C
put in place through training

2.3.5 What changes have you seen as a result of the introduction of SBMCs? Give concrete examples.

Probe: in relation to girls' education; in relation to improvement of teaching and learning;
enrolment, retention; in relation to children whose parents have problems paying for
textbooks/levies/other school-related costs.

- Teachers' truancy has been checked.
- Increase in enrolment of girls

Dr Mrs Funke Opopokun

Date: 19/03/09

Researcher(s): Mrs Felicia Onubon

- Pupils can now read and write
- Many pupils are now leaving ~~the~~ private schools to public schools
- LGEA assists in giving the pupils free exercise books

2.3.6 Do SBMC representatives ever approach you with requests? action did you take as a result?

When SBMCs have problem with their plans, the report to LGEA. Whenever they report, the guidance

Use this description of a school

Ed

2.3.7 How do you think SBMCs could be improved? Explain your

If members of the SBMC are sitting allowance, they are committed.

Section 4: SBMCs in the study schools (ask these questions only to the LGEA official who is most knowledgeable about SBMCs at the case study schools)

2.4.1 Tell me about Pakata ^A Pr school.

Is it a good school? Why? Is the community supportive? How? Does it have an SBMC? How were members selected? How functional is it? Why? Who calls meetings & draws up the agenda? Does it have a school development plan? If yes, who monitors the implementation? How is reporting structure coordinated? How does the school plan feed into LGEA plans?

Pakata LGEA Pr School was set up in 1934. It is a good school as the teachers and Head teachers are very committed. The community is quite supportive. For example the SBMC and PTA chair are very active and lend their time to the school regularly. It has a functional SBMC. Members were selected by consensus with many stakeholders present. The Headmaster with the support of the SBMC Chairman set up the agenda. Yes it has a school development²³

plans. The implementation of the plan is monitored by the SBMC coordinator at LG/EA level. Also the Local School Supervisors attached to each school works with the SBMC coordinator to monitor implementation.

The LSS sends verbal information to the SBMC coordinator on activities in Pockets #1 Rty School.

The School Development plan is passed on to the SBMC coordinator who passes it to the SDS team for further action.

For example 2 SDP were submitted to the SBMC coordinator for onward submission to SDS - "School Development Scheme". Where the endorsement committee meet to approve or disapprove the submitted plans. The outcome is passed back to the school through the SBMC coordinator.

Date: 19/03/2009

Researcher(s): Mrs Felicia Onibon
Dr C. Ms Funke Onibon

Thank the interviewee for his or her time. Note your comments below on:

- Whether anyone else was present
- Quality of the interview (was it open and frank? Or otherwise)
- Reflections
- Areas for further questioning

While the PRS Officer was interviewed, there was a female local school Supervisor present who was also contributing to the responses given.

The PRS officer is conversant with the workings of the SBMC and the structures of funding, accountability at local government level.

LOEIM WEST Local Government is an urban local government Area. The flow of official information to and from the schools in its jurisdiction is good.

The challenges observed is the common use of verbal communication for official reporting. This creates gaps in the system and make no room for continuity if responsible or designated officers are transferred or ~~disrupted~~ out of office for a long period of time.

Appendix 6: State research reports

Akuto, G. W. (2009). *School Based Management Committees in policy and practice. Kaduna State Report*. Abuja: ESSPIN.

Bawa, M., Ahmad, H., & Abdullahi, B. (2009). *School Based Management Committees in policy and practice. Kano State Report*. Abuja: ESSPIN.

Hughes, J. (2009). *School Based Management Committees in policy and practice. Lagos State Report*. Abuja: ESSPIN.

Musa, M. W., Nashabaru, A. M., & Awwalu, H. (2009). *School Based Management Committees in policy and practice. Jigawa State Report*. Abuja: ESSPIN.

Onibon, F. I. (2009). *School Based Management Committees in policy and practice. Kwara State Report*. Abuja: ESSPIN.

Appendix 7: ESSPIN synthesis report

Poulsen, H. (2009). *School Based Management Committees (SBMCs) in policy and practice. Volume 1: Research synthesis report*. Abuja: ESSPIN. Available at:
<http://www.esspin.org/index.php/resources/reports/programme/supporting-community-and-civil-society-demand#>

Appendix 8: HP field notes extract

Feb 22 + 23
- analysis

Finke - involved with training non-SEEP schools.

- leads script how to write grant proposal

- Aug 2008

- Once

- 70 participants (made up of 2 reps from ~~each~~ 35 schools)

LSS - local school supervisors for all non-SEEP LGAs. Some desk officers. Should step it down.

NOTES/Observations from field.

1. 23/3/09 Obadere Community P.S., Alimosho LGA, Lagos.

Arrived at PS straight from airport. Jae + Tina were just arriving for the first time, along with Rachel (Alimosho LGA Social mobilisation co-ordinator). First day interviewed the SBMC Chair while I checked with Rachel. They had launched SBMCs first??

Then we went on a street walk with Secretary (teacher) and treasurer (parent) of SBMC. They call it a new settlement - lots of building work, + houses / lots of trading, on the edge of the SEEP, with lots of small shops + businesses in between. Unmade roads. Quite quiet. There is a private college, house houses in between. We meet a few people, some men + women.

Do a road trip back to the school. Jae + Tina introduce chairs.

I chat with HT + look at SBMC minute book. HT tells me about recent strike - they have been on strike for 3 weeks because of non-payment of wages. No faith in unions. Seemed wise to be desperate. Looked at registers - well kept.

Read SBMC minute book - interesting story. Copy it.

Buttoulund

→ complexity + complexity of SBMC
initiatives.

Aug 10/18. Try some sage bee
sage? Like sensible but
it was - flavored it
the.

2.24/3/09 Obadone.

Tue 11. The Rachel + I went to the school. Rachel + I had a
child's activity. I interviewed women's representative - a woman
called Sam who is a lecturer at Lagos State Univ. She
was a NCo. See interview. Very nice woman who knows the
community very well. She is a SBMC member but doesn't know
anything about school plans/budgets + reached with horror when
I asked who was responsible for school budget - as if it could
be anyone other than HT.

Went with Rachel to pay a courtesy call on community
leader for next week - the Onidimu of Idimu.
Arrived at his compound. Greeted by trumpet blasts and a
large reception committee. Various speeches etc. by a
man who has been on SBMC training in Lagos.
Wherever he goes and anyone would expect to say
'Kasigisi - o'. He spoke very fluently. The man himself was
a beaded hat like looking out of money + wore beaded
necklaces + carried a large feather duster. At one point
everyone jumped to their feet + started singing a patriotic
song about Nigeria.

Drove to Koro. Liked how people are 'such a
pragmatic'.

Funk - involved with tra
- leadership how to
- Aug 2008
- one
- 70 participants
~~from 135~~ SS in school
LSS - local

Tea meetings

- More leaflets
- More cert - diff colours.

3. 25/3/09. Kaiama Central Primary School, Kaiama C.A.A.
Known since

Arrived at school from Horitahua road. Disappointed to find they had gone for central PS. Feliza explained it was because all schools have been closed, so they wait for the new one.

When I arrived, Feliza was mentioning the secretary of the Emir's council. He seemed to be worried + cleared to have nothing to do with school: of politics.

Then SBMC meeting FGD. A lot more was here - because of the school who is highlighted about their conditions.

Aspl named by Feliza + Mike + I had to leave to stop the ~~speech~~ lecture.

Sat ~~for~~ with mixed people like while they interview the children.

Sat for analysis here - Pissio Hotel. Hideously wet with walls of sewage + no spare room so shared with F+R.

4. 26/3/09.

Go to Karama Central P.S. ~~at~~ 10.15. Try some soya bean cheese (just like ksh) and what was? Like semolina but made from yam - quite dense - color - flavored with pepper sauce + a slightly sour taste.

Felix says his meeting under the big tree outside the school. It is a huge tree + supposed to be the place where people gather to meet + was the funeral of Kame (with unnecessary like peace/peace). No one is allowed to cut the tree or any branches.

Felix continues to interview the local leader. Representative of the governor has not + decides to know why he hasn't been told anything. Give him a leaflet + get him to come back tomorrow for feedback.

~~House~~ ~~At~~ ~~the~~ ~~house~~ Mores look really pissed off. They have been waiting for some time + it is market day. I get Felix to come + start with the women. They don't have a common language - some speak Klenso, some Yomba, all speak Bokonde (?) the local language all is so like Benin language.

Like a ~~big~~ - tiger.

Questions.

1. Who really controls these schools?
2. If their main purpose is not T+L, what is it? What social function do they serve? Is it to do with State, money, power? If so, how? Is it to do with the FTA levy?
3. In whose interests is it to introduce SBMCs? Those who are in control? + has right to appear?
4. If SBMCs were set up because PTAs were considered too politicized - will this really address the issue?

Findings.

Lagos.

Oxidore CPS, Alimosho

1. LK's case, for school is for pioneer.
2. SBMC members incredibly dedicated + willing to work long hours - with no reward, sign + no support for LGEA. Why?
3. No info about what they are supposed to do.

Kwara

Kaina Central PS.

1. School controlled by a central - PTA, LG EA + teachers ineffectively linked + politically concerned.
2. Mishmash of shenanigans + power
3. Money, no idea, puts a bit more.
4. Same power - v. diff. for LG EA - poor community.
5. Different narratives about the school: one which pleads for everything is what should be.

Appendix 9: Data audit

SBMCs in policy and practice

Data audit form

State: JIGAWA STATE

Code	Description	Date	Consent form
JIG/1/a	Interview Executive Chair (SUBEB), Jigawa State	18/3/09	✓
JIG/1/b	Interview State PTA Chairman, Jigawa State	18/3/09	✓
JIG/1/c	Interview Director of Social Mobilization, Jigawa State	1/4/09	✓
			✓

LGEA:

Code	Description	Date	Consent form
JIG/MAI/2/a	Interview with ES, Maigateri LGEA, Jigawa State	19/3/09	✓
JIG/MAI/2/b	Interview with GEP Desk Officer LGEA, Jigawa State	19/3/09	✓
JIG/MAI/2/c	Interview with PTA Chairman, Maigateri LGEA, Jigawa State	19/3/09	✓
JIG/MIG/2/a	Interview with ES, Miga LGEA, Jigawa State	20/3/09	✓
JIG/MIG/2/b	Interview with Head of Section, Schools, Miga Jigawa State	20/3/09	✓

School/community:

Code	Description	Date
e.g. LA/AL/OB/5d	Interview with community leader, Obadore	
JIG/MAI/MAT/3a	Conducted transect walk	23/3/09
JIG/MAI/MAT/3b	Conducted Social Resource Mapping	23/3/09
JIG/MAI/MAT/4	School Profile with Teacher	23/3/09
JIG/MAI/MAT/5a	Interview with SBMC Chair	24/3/09
JIG/MAI/MAT/5b	Interview with HeadTeacher, Matsastsagi	23/3/09
JIG/MAI/MAT/5c	Interview with Female Teacher	24/3/09
JIG/MAI/MAT/5d	Interview with Village Head	24/3/09
JIG/MAI/MAT/5e	Interview with Women group Leader	24/3/09
JIG/MAI/MAT/6	SBMC group meeting	24/3/09
JIG/MAI/MAT/7	Student activity	24/3/09
JIG/MAI/MAT/8	Men- FG/Venn Diagram with men's group	26/3/09
JIG/MAI/MAT/8	Women- FG/Venn Diagram with women's group	26/3/09
JIG/MAI/MAT/9	Group Feedback meeting	27/3/09
JIG/MIG/GZ/3a	Conducted transect walk	30/3/09
JIG/MIG/GZ/3b	Conducted Social Resource Mapping	30/3/09
JIG/MIG/GZ/4	School Profile with Teacher	30/3/09
JIG/MIG/GZ/5a	Interview with Ganiuwa Development Association (GDA) Chair	31/3/09
JIG/MIG/GZ/5b	Interview with Head Teacher, Ganiuwa Zareku Islamiya Primary School	30/3/09
JIG/MIG/GZ/5c	No female Female Teacher in School	-
JIG/MIG/GZ/5d	Interview with Village Head	31/3/09
JIG/MIG/GZ/5e	No Women group Leader	-
JIG/MIG/GZ/6	Interview with group meeting (GDA)	1/4/09
JIG/MIG/GZ/7	Student activity	1/4/09

JIG/MIG/GZ/8	Men- FG/Venn Diagram with men's group	2/4/09
JIG/MIG/GZ/8	Women- FG/Venn Diagram with women's group	2/4/09
JIG/MIG/GZ/9	Group Feedback meeting	3/4/09
	PHOTOS	
JIG/MAI/MAT/PIX	Matsastsagi Primary School	
JIG/MAI/MAT/Minutes	SBMC meetings documentsdocuments	
JIG/MIG/GZ/PIX	Ganuwa Zareku Islamiya School Community photos	
JIG/MIG/GZ/Minutes	GDA documents	

Include any other data, documents, or interviews that you may have picked up e.g. photographs, copies of SBMC minutes, posters, leaflets.

Reference:

***JIG/MAI/MAT- Jigawa/Maigateri/Matsastsagi Primary Schoo/Community**

***JIG/MIG/GZ- Jigawa/Ganuwa Zareku Islamiya Primary School/Community**

***GDA- Ganuwa Development Association (GDA)**

***MN- Men**

***WN- Women**

KADUNA STATE

KEY

KAD: Kaduna State

PM: Pam-madina LGEA Pry School

ZA: Zaria LGA

KA: Kachia LGA

AC: Army Children's school

PIC: Pictures

VID: Video

MIN: Minutes of SBMC

SBMCs in policy and practice

Data audit form

State:

Code	Description	Date	Consent form
<i>e.g. LA/1/a</i>	<i>Interview Director PRS, Lagos State</i>		
KAD/1/a	Interview Asst Director, School Services, MOE	18:03:09	yes
KAD/1/b	Director, Planning research & Statistics, (PRS) SUBEB	18:03:09	yes

LGEA:

Code	Description	Date	Consent form
<i>e.g. KW/KA/2/a</i>	<i>Interview ES, Kaiama LGEA, Kwara State</i>		
KAD/KA/2/a	Interview, ES, Kachia LGEA	19:03:09	Yes
KAD/KA/2/b	Interview, SBMC Desk Officer, Kachia LGEA	19:03:09	yes
KAD/ZA/2/a	Interview, Es. Zaria, LGEA	20:03:09	yes
KAD/ ZA/2/b	Interview, Sch Devt Scheme Officer, Zaria LGEA	20:03/09	Yes

School/community:

Code	Description	ZARIA LGA	Date
<i>e.g. LA/AL/OB/5d</i>	<i>Interview with community leader, Obadore</i>		
KAD//ZA/PM/3a	Social Resource Mapping (Whole community)		23/03/09
KAD/ZA/PM/3b	Transect walk		23/03/09
KAD/ZA/PM/4	School profile		23/03/09
KAD/ZA/PM/5a	Interview, SBMC Chair		24/03/09
KAD/ZA/PM/5b	Interview, Head teacher		24/03/09
KAD/ZA/PM/5c	Interview, Male teacher		24/03/09
KAD/ZA/Pm/5d	Interview, Community Leader		24/03/09
KAD/ZA/PM/5e	Interview Women Leader		24/03/09
KAD/ZA/PM/6	FGD/Venn Diagram with SBMC Group		25/03/09
KAD/ZA/PM/7	Student activity		24/03/09
KAD/ZA/PM/8/Fa	FGD/Venn Diagram with Fathers		25/03/09
KAD/ZA/PM/8/Mo	FGD/Venn Diagram with mothers		25/03/09
KAD/ZA/PM/9	Group feedback meeting		26/03/09
KAD/ZA/PM/PIC	Pictures of most activities		23-26/03/09
KAd/ZA/PM/Mins	Minutes of SBMC Meeting		27/03/09
		KACHIA LGA	
KAD/KA/AC/3a	Social resource mapping		30/03/09
KAD/KA/AC/3b	Transect walk		30/03/09
KAD/KA/AC/4	School profile		30/03/09

KAD/KA/AC/5a	Interview, SBMC Chair	31/03/09
KAD/KA/AC/5b	Interview, Head teacher	30/03/09
KAD/KA/AC/5c	Interview, Male and Female Teacher	31/03/09
KAD/KA/AC/5d	Interview, Community Leader	31/03/09
KAD/KA/AC/5e	Interview, women Group leader	31/03/09
KAD/KA/AC/6	Venn Diagram with SBMC Group	1/04/09
KAD/KA/AC/7	Student activity	31/03/09
KAD/KA/AC/8/Fa	FGD/Venn Diagram with Fathers	1/04/09
KAD/KA/AC/8/Mo	FGD/Venn Diagram activity with Mothers	1/04/09
KAD/KA/AC/9	Group Feed back meeting	1/04/09
KAD/KA/AC/Vid	Video coverage of all the activities	30-2/04/09
KAD/KA/AC/Mins	Minutes of SBMC meeting	30/03/09

Include any other data, documents, or interviews that you may have picked up e.g. photographs, copies of SBMC minutes, posters, leaflets.

State Level: (see bound book 1)

Code	Description	Date	
LA/1/a	Interview with Director, Social Mobilisation, SUBEB (incoming officer and outgoing officer jointly interviewed)	20.4.9	√
LA/1/b	Interview with Projects Manager, SUBEB	20.4.9	√
LA/1/c	Interview with member of State Level PTA Committee, chairman of Alimosho PTA committee	18.4.9	

LGEA Alimosho (see bound book 1)

Code	Description	Date	
LA/AL/2/a	Interview with Education Secretary, Alimosho	18.4.9	√
LA/AL/2/b	Interview with Social Mobilisation Officer, LGEA Alimosho	18.4.9	√
LA/AL/2/c	Interview with Deputy Social Mobilisation Officer, LGEA Alimosho	18.4.9	√
LA/AL/2/COMPASS in bound book 1 at the end of the book	Information about COMPASS programme in Alimosho obtained from LGEA and Idimu	18.4.9 and 30.4.9	

Note: both the Social Mobilisation Officer and her deputy were interviewed because she was part of the research team and although she knew a lot more than her deputy, who was quite recently in this job, it seemed desirable to triangulate. In fact her deputy drew attention to conflict we would not otherwise have heard about, and he brought details of recent UNICEF training he had attended.

School/community: Obadore (see bound book 2)

LA/AL/OB/3a	Notes of social and resource mapping	26.3.9	
LA/AL/OB/3b	Transect on 2 different days of Obadore going in two different directions from the school	23.3.9 24.3.9	
LA/AL/OB/4	School profile, Community Primary School Obadore	24.3.9	
LA/AL/OB/5a	Interview with SBMC chairman cluster 5	23.3.9	
LA/AL/OB/5b	Interview with HT, Community Primary School Obadore	24.3.9	
LA/AL/OB/5c	Interview with female teacher, Community Primary School Obadore	24.3.9	
LA/AL/OB/5d	Interview with community leader, Baale of Obadore, along with extra community members, first male and later a few female who joined in	26.3.9	
LA/AL/OB/5e	Interview with women's NGO leader summarised by Helen	25.3.9	
LA/AL/OB/ADD In bound book 2 after 5e and extra	Interview with CDA Members, Obadore, and notes taken on CLEDEP project from minutes book 2005	25.3.9	
LA/AL/OB/6	FGD with SBMC cluster 5		
LA/AL/OB/7	Children's Activity Obadore	24.3.9	
LA/AL/OB/8mo	Group discussion with mothers Obadore	26.3.9	
LA/AL/OB/8fa	Group discussion with fathers Obadore	26.3.9	
LA/AL/OB/9	Feedback report given to Obadore community and note of community's response	27.3.9	

School/community: Idimu (see bound book 3)

LA/AL/ID/3A	Social resource mapping diagrams gained during FGD with Mothers and interview with SBMC members	31.3.9
LA/AL/ID/3B	Transect in Idimu ('Pipeline' area community)	31.3.9
LA/AL/ID/4	School profile Idimu Community Primary School	30.3.9
LA/AL/ID/5a	Interview with SBMC chairman, cluster 2, at Idimu,	30.3.9
LA/AL/ID/5b	Interview with HT, Idimu Community Primary School	30.3.9
LA/AL/ID/5c	Interview with female teacher, Idimu community Primary School	30.3.9
LA/AL/ID/5d	Interview of community leader, Oba of Idimu (Onidimu)	30.3.9
LA/AL/ID/5e	Interview of market women's leader, Idimu	31.3.9
LA/AL/ID/6	FGD, SBMC members cluster 2 at Idimu Oba's palace	31.3.9
LA/AL/ID/7	Children's activity, Idimu Community Primary School	31.3.9
LA/AL/ID/8mo	FGD and social resource mapping with mothers, Idimu Community Primary School	31.3.9
LA/AL/ID/8fa	FGD and Venn diagram with fathers, Idimu Community Primary School	31.3.9
LA/AL/ID/9	Feedback to community, Idimu, at Oba's palace	2.3.9

Attachments in ring binder

1	LA/1/PIC	Photos of PTA chairman being interviewed at his home	18.4.9
2	LA/1/1C/Chart	Organisational chart from PTA chairman	18.4.9
3	LA/AL/2/Training	UNICEF materials from SW Zone training workshop February 2009	18.4.9
4	LA/AL/2/C/Chart	Organisational chart from deputy social mobilisation officer, Alimosho LGEA	18.4.9
5	LA/AL/OB/4/ADD	Diagram of Obadore school	23.4.9
6	LA/AL/OB/Min	SBMC cluster 5 minutes book	24.3.9
7	LA/AL/OB/6/ADD	Venn Diagram from SBMC FGD plus list of members of SBMC and general correspondence	25.3.9
8	LA/AL/OB/7ADD	Obadore children's book	
9	LA/AL/ID/MIN	SBMC Minute book, cluster 2 (secretary is a teacher in Idimu Community Primary School)	
10	LA/AL/ID/6/SocRes	Social and resource mapping by Idimu SBMC	31.3.9
11	LA/AL/ID/8mo/SocRes	Copy of soc and resource map of mothers Idimu	31.3.9
12	LA/AL/ID/8fa/VENN	Copy Of Venn Diagram Of Fathers Idimu	31.3.9
13	LA/1/ADD	SUBEB notice of SBMC launching	
14	LA/1/2/ADD	Report to SUBEB Lagos and LGEA Alimosho	4.4.9
15	LA/AL/OB/3B/Chart	Drawing of transect	23.3.9
16	LA/AL/2/B/Chart	LGEA officer chart	18.3.9
17	LA/AL/OB/8/mo/venn	Obadore Mothers Venn Diagram	26.3.9

Other attachments:

1	LA/AL/ID/4pic	Digital photos of Idimu Community Primary School and access from Community, showing:	30.3.9
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	In Jane's computer	1. Steps the girls have to go up carrying buckets of water from the community borehole to the school. 2. Federal classroom block uncompleted 3. Idimu Community Primary School 4. View towards the community from the school	
2	LA/AL/ID/video	Video of activities in Idimu on 24, 30, 31 March 2009 (Given to Helen 14 April 2009)	2.4.9
3	LA/AL/OB/pic	Photos of Obadore community Primary School (with Helen)	24.3.9

KAN

Trustee
Coone. Kumbotso
SBMCs in policy and practice

Data audit form

State:

Code	Description	Date	Consent form
e.g. LA/1/a	Interview Director PRS, Lagos State		
✓ KAN/1/1/a	Interview Director Social Mobilization	18-03-09	✓
✓ KAN/1/1/b	Interview Deputy Director Education Services	18-03-09	✓

LGEA:

Code	Description	Date	Consent form
e.g. KW/KA/2/a	Interview ES, Kaiama LGEA, Kwara State		
✓ KAN/KUM/2/a	Interview SBMC/PTA Coordinator	20-03-09	✓
✓ KAN/FA/2/a	Interview SBMC/PTA Coordinator	19-03-09	

School/community:

Code	Description	Date
e.g. LA/AL/OB/5d	Interview with community leader, Obadore	
✓ KAN/FA/FAM/3a	Interview with mixed group of people	23-03-09
✓ KAN/FA/FAM/4	SCHOOL PROFILE, Fagge model pri school	23-03-09
✓ KAN/FA/FAM/5a	Interview SBMC Chair, Fagge model pri. school	24-03-09
✓ KAN/FA/FAM/5b	Interview Head Teacher, Fagge model pri school	24-03-09
✓ KAN/FA/FAM/5c	Interview Female Teacher, Fagge model pri school	24-03-09
✓ KAN/FA/FAM/5d	Interview, Community Leader (Fagge ward leader)	24-03-09
✓ KAN/FA/FAM/5e	Interview, Women's Group Leader (Fagge ward)	24-03-09
✓ KAN/FA/FAM/7	Student activity, Fagge model pri school	25-03-09
✓ KAN/FA/FAM/8a	Group Discussion with Farmers/Mothers Fagge model	26-03-09
✓ KAN/FA/FAM/9a	Group feedback meeting, Fagge model pri school	26-03-09
✓ KAN/FA/FAM/3b	Trunket walk with Fagge pri sch Teachers	23-03-09
✓ KAN/KUM/JAO/4	School profile, Jaji pri school	30-03-09
✓ KAN/KUM/JAO/5a	Interview SBMC chair, Jaji pri school	31-03-09
✓ KAN/KUM/JAO/5b	Interview Head Teacher, Jaji pri school	30-03-09
✓ KAN/KUM/JAO/5c	Interview Female Teacher, Jaji pri school	30-03-09
✓ KAN/KUM/JAO/5d	Interview Community Leader (Jaji ward Head)	30-03-09
✓ KAN/KUM/JAO/5e	Interview, Women's Group Leader (Jaji ward)	31-03-09

FA = Fagge LGA
FAM = Fagge model pri sch

KUM = Kumbotso LGA
JAO = Jaji pri school

ILW — Ilorin West Local Govt. Area.
 KA — KAIAMA LGA.
 PA — PAKATA' Prg School
 KA — KAIAMA CENTRAL PRY SCHOOL

KW

SBMCs in policy and practice

Data audit form

State:

Code	Description	Date	Consent form
e.g. LA/1/a	Interview Director PRS, Lagos State		
KW/1/a	Interview Director Science & Tech (S.D.S.)	18/3/09	✓
KW/1/b	School Services Supervisor S.D.S. BUREAU	18/3/09	✓
KW/1/c	Civil Society - Executive Sec. RCA Foundation	19/3/09	✓

LGEA:

Code	Description	Date	Consent form
e.g. KW/KA/2/a	Interview ES, Kaiama LGEA, Kwara State	23/3/09	?
KW/KA/2/b	Interview with Director School Services KA	23/3/09	?
KW/ILW/2/c	Interview, SBMC Coordinator, ILORIN WEST	19/03/09	✓
KW/ILW/2/d	Interview with Deputy ES ILW LGEA	1/4/09	✓

School/community:

Code	Description	Date	Consent form
e.g. LA/AL/OB/5d	Interview with community leader, Obadore		
KW/KA/KA/3a	Social Resource Mapping	25/3/09	
KW/KA/KA/3b	Transect Walk	24/3/09	
KW/KA/KA/4	School Profile	24/3/09	
KW/KA/KA/6	SBMC Focus Group Discussion	25/3/09	
KW/KA/KA/5a	Interview with SBMC Chairman Kaima	23/3/09	✓
KW/KA/KA/5b	✓ with Headteacher Kaima Central Sch.	24/3/09	✓
KW/KA/KA/min	Minute of SBMC Meeting	24/3/09	
KW/KA/KA/5c	Female Teacher Interview, Kaima	24/3/09	✓
KW/KA/KA/5d	Interview with Community leader, Kaima	25/3/09	✓
KW/KA/KA/5e	Interview with Women's Group leader	26/3/09	
KW/KA/KA/7	School Activity with Pupils: Kaima	25/3/09	
KW/KA/KA/PA	Group Discussion with FATHERS	26/3/09	
KW/KA/KA/MA	Group Discussion with MOTHERS	26/3/09	
KW/ILW/PA/9	Group feedback Meeting	27/3/09	
KW/ILW/PA/3a	Social Resource Mapping Pakata' Prg Sch	31/3/09	
KW/ILW/PA/3b	Transect Walk Pakata' Community	30/3/09	
KW/ILW/PA/4	School Profile	30/3/09	
KW/ILW/PA/5a	Interview with SBMC Chairman	30/3/09	✓

CONSENT FORM

Appendix 10: Permission to use data

10.1 Email from John Martin, Technical Director, Cambridge Education

Helen

Nice to hear from you and hear you are well. Of course no problem.

I hereby confirm that data gathered during a consultancy to provide a set of in-depth case studies in order to explore how SBMCs are functioning (contract no. ESSPIN/ABJ/0053 dated 14th Feb 2009) can be used for the purposes of your doctoral thesis and any related publications.

I had heard you were in Congo and do get snippets of news of you from time to time. It is a small world we work in. After my wife's illness (thankfully over now) I returned from Nigeria and now have a more roving roll, along with writing most of our bids of which there seem to be an endless stream at the moment. At the moment am travelling mostly to East Africa where we have projects in Uganda and Tanzania, the latter which has only just been launched so needing lot of attention.

It is possible that Nick and myself will travel to Congo in the New year, to do some scoping for the upcoming DFID education programme there. If so we will of course let you know if we do. I have Pakistan, Ghana and Ethiopia looking imminent before that but as you know it is difficult to predict timings of these things

Am sending this from Istanbul where I am in transit from Uganda

John

John Martin
Technical Director
Cambridge Education
Tel: +44 (0)1223 463840
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10.2 Email from Emily Oldmeadow, DFID Nigeria

Dear Helen

I confirm (on behalf of DFID Nigeria) that data gathered during a consultancy for Cambridge Education under the DFID-funded ESSPIN project to provide a set of in-depth case studies in order to explore how SBMCs are functioning (Cacontract no. ESSPIN/ABJ/0053 dated 14th Feb 2009) can be used for the purposes of your doctoral thesis and any related publications.

Kind regards

Emily Oldmeadow | Senior Education Adviser, Human Development Team | UK Department for International Development Nigeria | 10 Bobo Street, off Gana Street, Maitama, Abuja | 📞
telephone: +234 (0) 9 4602930-58 Ext - 2113 📱mobile: +234 (0) 806 5724398 📠FTN: 8271
2113

✉email: e-oldmeadow@dfid.gov.uk visit us at: [DFID Nigeria](#) and [UK in Nigeria](#)

Appendix 11: Ethics form

1. IoE Ethics form
2. Research consent form
3. Research information leaflet

Institute of Education, University of London

Ethics Approval for Doctoral Student Research Projects: Data Sheet

Please read the notes before completing the form

Project title	School Based Management Committees (SBMCS) in policy and practice in Nigeria		
Student Name	Helen Poulsen		
Supervisor	Elaine Unterhalter		
Advisory committee members			
School/Unit	EFPS	Faculty	-----
Intended start date of data collection	18/03/2009		
Funder	ESSPIN project (DfID)		
Professional Ethics code used	BSA		

Has this project been considered by another (external) Research Ethics Committee?

If your research is based in another institution then you may be required to submit your research to that institution's ethics review process. If your research involves patients or staff recruited through the NHS then you will need to apply for ethics approval through an NHS Local Research Ethics Committee. In either of these cases, you don't need ethics approval from the Institute of Education. If you have gained ethics approval elsewhere, please detail it here:

no

Research participants

Does the research involve human participants?

- ☒ Yes, as a primary source of data (*e.g. through interviews*)
☐ Yes, as a secondary source of data (*e.g. using existing data sets*)
☐ No *Please explain* _____

If the research involves human participants, who are they? (tick all that apply)

- ☐ Early years/pre-school
☐ School-aged children
☐ Young people aged 17-18
☐ Unknown

☒ *Adults please describe them below*

Parents, teachers and school committee members at 10 schools in Nigeria
 Local, state and federal government officials
 NGO, donor representatives

Research methods to be used (tick all that apply – this information will be recorded on a database of the types of work being presented to Ethics Committees)

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Interviews | <input type="checkbox"/> Systematic review |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Focus groups | <input type="checkbox"/> Randomised controlled trial |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Questionnaire | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Literature review |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Action research | <input type="checkbox"/> Use of personal records |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Observation | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other | |

Institute of Education, University of London
Ethics Approval for Doctoral Student Research Projects:
Planned Research and Ethical considerations.

1. Summary of planned research (please indicate the purpose of the research, its aims, main research questions, and research design. It's expected that this will take approx. 200–300 words, though you may write more if you feel it is necessary)

Purpose

The problems of Nigeria's education system are well documented. There is poor access to education, particularly for girls and the poorest citizens. Net primary school attendance was only 64% for boys and 57% for girls in 2003. In the north in particular, the situation is worse – only 34% of girls attend school. For those who do have access, the quality of education is poor. School Management Committees are promoted in international and national development policy as a way to improve the quality of education provision and to promote democracy at the local level.

International experience suggests that SBMCs can, in certain conditions, be linked to improvements but the evidence is limited and in some cases contradictory. In Nigeria, recent changes in education policy have sought to introduce School Based Management Committees (SBMCs) across the country. A number of different programmes and initiatives have been supporting the establishment and functioning of SBMCs (e.g. GEP, ActionAid, CSACEFA, CAPP projects). There is, however, a lack of research on whether and how SBMC policy is being implemented on the ground, and what effect SBMCs are having on communities and on schools.

My interest in researching school-based management committees stems from my experience of working as an adviser and researcher on education projects and reform programmes in an international development context, for example in Bangladesh and Malawi. From 2004-2006 I worked on the British Council-implemented Capacity for Universal Basic Education (CUBE) project, specifically on developing a community-based planning process for schools. Through this work I came to see that the policy context in Nigeria in relation to community participation in schools is fast moving, contested and therefore an interesting focus for doctoral research. In particular it seemed to be an agenda that was being aggressively pursued by some of the donor organisations, especially UNICEF and the World Bank, implemented in a top-down fashion with little attention given to the ways in which schools are already embedded within communities and the ways in which communities support schools in the absence of consistent government support.

In October 2008 I made a short visit to Abuja with the purpose of making contacts and setting up my doctoral research. My initial plan had been to focus the research on two schools in Borno state which I had visited previously. During the visit I met representatives from the newly started DfID-supported Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria (ESSPIN) programme, who expressed interest in supporting my research, if I agreed to expand its scope to cover the five ESSPIN focus states, Kwara, Kaduna, Lagos, Jigawa and Kano. As a self-financed, part-time doctoral student this offer provided a way to fund the research which was clearly very attractive; however there are also downsides and drawbacks to conducting doctoral research under the auspices of a programme which is a partnership between the British and Nigerian federal governments. For example, the expanded scope meant that instead of conducting the field research myself with the assistance of a local co-researcher, the research would be conducted by teams of researchers trained and supported by me. In addition, I am concerned that the researchers will be viewed as government representatives and that this will affect the extent to which interviewees and participants in the research will feel free to respond to their questions. On the other hand, there are advantages to conducting an expanded piece of research under the auspices of ESSPIN. One is that engagement with ESSPIN provides an important opportunity for research findings to feed into strategy and policy in relation to SBMCs. In addition, there are many advantages to the field research being conducted by teams of Nigerian researchers. As a white, western woman I am aware from past experience that it is difficult to conduct research in rural areas of Nigeria because of the language barrier, but also because of assumptions about who and what I represent. Because of fundamental inequalities underpinning the donor-recipient relationship it may be assumed, for example, that I am a representative of a donor organisation with the power to make grants or provide school buildings.

This research, then, is funded by ESSPIN, a programme funded by DfID in partnership with government of Nigeria. I have tried to enter into this relationship with ESSPIN by seeing it on the one hand as an opportunity, in terms of the resources and support that the relationship allows me to access as a researcher. On the other hand, this research starts from a has as its starting point a critical view of the international development project, and one of the things that I hope to do is to engage with policies and practices around community participation in a critical way. This research, therefore, seeks to clarify how this policy is understood at different levels of the system, and how it is enacted on the ground with particular attention to implications for gender, poverty and the provision of quality education.

Main research questions

- What are the key policies around SBMCs in Nigeria, and how are they understood by key stakeholders at federal, state, local government, school and community levels?
- How have these policies been 'enacted' at school and community level?
- What are the implications of the ways in which SBMC policy has been implemented for questions of gender, poverty and school governance?
- What strategies do the findings suggest for future ESSPIN research and engagement with SBMCs?

Methodology

The research will be led by me, and supervised by Fatima Aboki, an ESSPIN staff member with responsibility for community participation. The research will be led at state level by a state research consultant, the ESSPIN State Access & Equity specialist, and a field researcher. In total, then, the research team is made up of fifteen researchers – three per state.

In terms of roles and relationships within the team, I am contracted by ESSPIN as the lead researcher. I report to Fatima, who is a Nigerian woman, and a full-time ESSPIN employee, based in ESSPIN Headquarters in Abuja. Of the five state research consultants, two are Nigerian women, two are Nigerian men and one is a British woman who has been resident in Nigeria for over thirty years. The state research consultants are all extremely experienced professional researchers and consultants. They have been assigned to lead states that they know well and where they can speak the language that is required – so Jigawa, Kano and Kaduna are all mainly Hausa-speaking states, while Lagos and Kwara are Yoruba-speaking states. The ESSPIN state Access and Equity Consultants are 3 Nigerian men and 2 Nigerian women. These individuals are employed by ESSPIN full-time at state level and they all have very good knowledge of their particular state context. The field researchers are all local to the states and have been recruited by ESSPIN (through partner organisation Save the Children) for the purposes of this research. All research team members speak excellent English and training was conducted in English. All state research teams include at least one woman, which is extremely important, particularly in the northern states of Nigeria, where it would be considered culturally inappropriate for male researchers to hold meetings and interviews with women.

As is common practice in international development projects, in ESSPIN there is a two tier system of payments – international and national consultancy rates. I am paid at the international rate while state research consultants and field researchers are paid at local rates. This international/local divide is inherently problematic as it promotes the idea of 'international' (usually white) consultants as being inherently superior to 'national' (usually black) consultants and researchers. This is an example of the power of whiteness in development discourse and how, according to Kothari (2006) 'authority, expertise and knowledge become racially symbolized'. That the ideologies, institutions and practices of international development are notoriously silent on questions of race is undisputed and chimes with my own experience. During my professional life I have often felt uncomfortable being positioned as the white, international 'expert' in the presence of older and vastly more experienced, black, 'national' experts. It is a fact that I stand to benefit more from this research than my Nigerian colleagues both financially and professionally in that I will gain a PhD from it. I will strive to maintain awareness of this fundamental inequality, to be open and transparent about what I will gain from the research, to work in a way that values the contributions of my colleagues and gives credit to them, and to support actively their professional development.

In each state, two schools have been purposively selected, based on criteria including whether or not they have received any support from SBMC interventions, and their location (urban, peri-urban and rural) . The team will interview state and LGEA officials and then spend 5 days in each of the two schools and surrounding communities. The research teams were trained and research tools piloted in February 2009.

Literature review

A review of the literature on the impact and effectiveness of community participation initiatives, including SBMCs, in Nigeria will be conducted.

Field research

Field research will be conducted by the research teams in Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Kwara and Lagos states. This will be a qualitative piece of research because it seeks to explore what is happening and why at school community level in relation to SBMCs. In-depth case studies will be conducted in two communities in each of the four study states – 10 case studies in total. These case studies will use a mixture of methodological approaches including interviews, observation and participatory research to develop a detailed SBMC, school and community profiles. These profiles will help to clarify questions about who SBMC members are, what kind of activities they are involved in and why, how they see their roles, and what relationships exist between SBMC members, different community members, teachers, parents and others.

In most cases, SBMC and school leadership is male and elite dominated. This research design is based on the belief that in order to understand dynamics and relationships at community level, we have to start from the assumption that communities are heterogeneous and that as researchers we have to seek a diversity of voices. To this end, researchers are spending five days working with each school and surrounding community. This will enable them to hold interviews with the school and SBMC power holders – Headteacher, SBMC chair and traditional leader (all likely to be male) – but also to meet and discuss key questions with women, including women’s group leaders, female teachers and mothers of children at the school, as well as representatives from different religious and cultural groups and different socio-economic backgrounds. One of the first activities to be conducted at community level will be a social mapping exercise which will enable researchers to identify different groups within the community. The research tools draw heavily on visual PRA techniques with the aim of making them accessible to non-literate and less vocal individuals.

At federal, state and local government level, semi-structured interviews will be conducted with government officials and representatives of NGOs and donor organisations to explore understandings of SBMC policy. I will conduct the state level interviews, but at State and LGA level, they will be conducted by the research teams. See the attached research manual for full details of the field research plans and tools.

Analysis

Analysis will be conducted collaboratively over a 2-week period by the full research team. This is based on the belief that research findings with a large team of researchers working in diverse contexts are best discussed collaboratively at the initial stage of analysis in order to make best use of the data. As a result of this period of analysis, a presentation will be made to ESSPIN representatives and other key stakeholders which will feed into the ESSPIN planning process.

ESSPIN has agreed to release the data to me for purposes of my PhD and any other publications arising from it, so a further and deeper analysis will be conducted for PhD purposes.

2. Specific ethical issues

(Outline the main ethical issues which may arise in the course of this research, and how they will be addressed. It’s expected that this will require approx. 200–300 words, though you may write more if you feel it is necessary. You will find information in the notes about answering this question)

All field researchers have been trained in ethical issues, during a training and piloting workshop held in Kano from 15-24th February 2009. A reminder of ethical issues is included in the research manual (attached). In addition, all researchers are contracted by Save the Children. As part of the contracting process, the researchers are required to comply with Save the Children's child safeguarding policy.

In terms of the safety of the researchers, this has been addressed in a number of ways. Firstly, all ESSPIN activities, including this research, are subject to a risk assessment which is periodically reviewed. This covers issues risks from terrorist action and political disturbance, travel safety, risk of crime and personal safety, accidents and health risks. Secondly, the team's travel and accommodation arrangements will be overseen by ESSPIN state offices, who know the area very well.

Permission has been granted by the appropriate state-level authorities to visit each school. Participants will be informed about the research, in advance if possible, by sending them brief information about the research (attached).

I will ask participants at LGEA, state and federal level to sign an informed consent form in English (attached). At school and community level, many participants are likely to be illiterate. I understand that working with illiterate people carries very specific ethical responsibilities. This will be addressed in a number of ways. Firstly, the purpose of the research will be explained and verbal consent will be sought by the researchers. They will make it clear that participants can withdraw at any time. Secondly, the research tools are inspired by visual PRA methods so that participants will be actively involved in developing and discussing visual representations of school and community institutions, rather than being excluded by written notes. Finally, a community feedback meeting will be held at the end of the research period, at which researchers will seek confirmation and feedback on their conclusions, thus giving participants the opportunity to correct and clarify issues with the researchers.

The need to protect informants is an important ethical issue. I have no reason to suspect that participants will be placed in actual danger through participating in this research. However, in order to protect informants, names and locations will be changed.

At school and LGEA level, my experience is that if schools are expecting a visitor, they usually arrange a function in order to formally receive the researcher(s). These functions not only disrupt the school day & are time consuming for participants, they tend to be dominated by the Headteacher and male community elders. It is very difficult under these circumstances to have quality discussions with, for example, more junior teachers, or mothers of children. On the other hand, refusing the hospitality of the school community, and refusing to join in with the occasion, would be considered rude. The strategy that I have developed is for the research teams to spend 5 days in each school and surrounding community, which will enable the research teams to take the time to comply with expectations of members of the school, as well as giving them the time to pursue the research agenda.

In terms of feedback, a feedback meeting has been built into the research schedule at community level. At this meeting, members of the research team will present preliminary findings and seek responses from a mixed group of community representatives. A summary of the research findings will be sent to LGEA, state and federal level participants. Findings will be presented to the ESSPIN team and other key stakeholders. I will send a copy of the finished thesis to ESSPIN and to DFID (Nigeria).

In terms of who might benefit from this research, at the policy level I intend that it will contribute to debates about policy and practice in relation to community participation in education. My hope is that it will help to clarify some of the ways in which interventions can be designed in a way that will benefit more marginal members of the community. A seminar will be organised in May/June 2009 for representatives of ESSPIN and other organisations working on community participation in education issues. Without wanting to prejudge the research findings, based on some of the pilot findings, it is likely that the research will for example highlight some of the ways in which SBMCs and school management more broadly has been captured by elites in the community, and that the mechanisms for representation of some sections of the community, eg women and poorer people, are currently weak. With my research team I hope to develop some concrete strategies to address this and other problems with current SBMC policy and strategy.

At school and community level, a fundamental ethical issue is the need to manage people's expectations of what we can bring to them. We, as paid researchers, are asking members of the community with few resources to spend a lot of time with us and are not paying them. I am aware that because of the research's links to government, people may not feel that free to leave, although the researchers will make it clear that this is their right. During piloting, the research teams found that they received a lot of positive feedback from community members because of the time that they took to answer their questions. My strategy therefore is that researchers will be absolutely open about the fact that they cannot offer payment nor promise project support for the community, but that any information that they provide will contribute towards developing improved strategies for supporting schools and SBMCs. In addition each of the case study schools will be provided with a selection of books and readers, to be sourced through a Nigerian NGO that produces well designed and age-appropriate books in a range of languages. While I am aware that this kind of contribution is not without problems - specifically, that simply giving books does not guarantee that students will be allowed to use them - many schools are extremely poorly resourced and the books will at least provide a token of thanks.

3. Attachments

Please attach the following items to this form:

- The proposal or project outline for the project
- Approval letter from external Research Ethics Committee, if applicable
- Where available, information sheets and other materials to be used to inform potential participants about the research.

4. Declaration

I confirm that to the best of my knowledge this is a full description of the ethics issues that may arise in the course of this project			
Signed		Date	

School Use

Date considered:

Approved and reported to FREC ☐

Referred back to applicant and supervisor ☐

Referred on to FREC ☐

Signature of Supervisor:

Signature of Advisory committee member:

FREC use

Date considered:.....

FREC reference:.....

Approved and filed ☐

Referred back to applicant ☐

Referred to RGEC ☐

Signature of Chair of FREC:.....

Ethics Approval for a Doctoral Student Research Project

Notes on completing the form

At the Institute of Education, all research projects are subject to ethics review before the project starts. This includes student projects. Reviews for research student projects are conducted by the student's supervisor and a member of the student's advisory committee. If there are particularly difficult issues involved in an application it may be referred on to the Faculty Research Ethics Committee (FREC).

It is the student's responsibility to ensure the form is completed and submitted in time for it to be considered and approved. Please contact your school administrator about deadlines for this.

This is the first version of the form, and will be revised based on the experience of users, within one year. Please provide your comments about the form to Sean Jennings, the Institutes Research Ethics Coordinator (s.jennings@ioe.ac.uk).

The Data Sheet

The information on the first page helps the Institute's administrators make sure that the application is considered by the right members of staff. If the application is referred to your FREC, then the basic information table will help the Research Ethics Coordinator to ensure the proposal reaches the right FREC, and it will help FREC members in recording decisions about the proposal.

Please state which ethical guidelines will govern the project. This is normally BERA, BPS or BSA. Links to all these current codes are available from http://ioewebserver.ioe.ac.uk/ioe/cms/get.asp?cid=13449&13449_0=13479, and you do not have to be a member of the society in question in order to follow its ethics code. A project may be multidisciplinary: you must decide which code will apply for this project and record that on the form. In most cases students follow the same ethical code as their supervisor(s).

External Research Ethics Committees

If the proposal has gone through another rigorous ethics review process, it does not need to be reviewed again within the Institute. This is most likely to occur when it goes through the NHS system, or another university's system. Please provide information about that process for our records. If this is the case you do not need to answer the other questions, but please sign the declaration.

Participants in research

Participants in research include people being asked to complete questionnaires, participate in interviews and focus groups; people being observed; people whose personal data may be used (including for secondary analysis); and participants in action research. In some projects you will meet the people directly, but not in others. Most research projects at the Institute are likely to have human participants, but not all. For example, if a literature review is a project in its own right (rather than part of a bigger project), there may be no human participants. If you think your project does not involve human participants, please explain your answer.

Please provide information about the age of children participating in the research. Tick all the boxes which apply, and provide more detailed information under question 5. If your research includes adult participants, please describe them briefly (e.g. teachers, parents, adult learners, patients) and provide more information under question 5. In some projects (e.g. observational studies) you may not know yet who the participants will be. Please tick the 'unknown' box and explain why this is.

Research method

This question is included to help FRECs collect data on the types of work being presented to them and will be used to record decisions on a central database.

Ethics Approval for Student Research Projects: Planned Research and Ethical considerations

Question 1: Summary of research

Please provide information about the aims of the research, the background to it and the study design (including data collection and analysis methods) to assist advisory committee or FREC members in understanding the project. You may wish to attach the answer to this question as a separate document. If so, please indicate in the box that you have done this, and ensure that the attachment is clearly labelled.

Question 2: Specific ethical issues

Please consider the issues that may arise in this research and how you will manage them. A checklist of issues to consider is included below. You may wish to attach your answer to this question as a separate document. If so, please indicate in the box that you have done this, and ensure that the attachment is clearly labelled.

This list is not exhaustive, nor will every issue apply to every project. It is intended to help you think about things which may happen, and to help FREC members to review your proposal.

- Provide further information about who you intend to collect data from and how. If any participants are children/young people under 18 or adults classed as vulnerable⁵⁴ and researchers will have access to them without another adult present, have researchers all been subject to a Criminal Records Bureau check?
- Who will benefit from this research? How will participants benefit, now or in the future? Who else might benefit, now or in the future?
- What are the risks to research participants? Are there risks to anyone else? Are there risks for the researchers?
- How will you inform participants about the research? How will you gain their informed consent to participate? How will you document their consent? Will you need to obtain consent from participants on more than one occasion, or only at the outset of the project? Note that you are required to attach copies of information leaflets etc. which you intend to use – if you do not intend to use information leaflets, please explain why
- If you do not intend to gain informed consent, please explain why
- Will you offer participants financial incentives (e.g. shopping vouchers, entry in a prize draw) to take part in the research? How much will you offer? How will you ensure that the incentive does not influence their responses?
- Will you offer participants to meet participants' expenses (e.g. travel costs, child care costs) to take part in the research? Will you offer them any form of payment (e.g. shopping vouchers, entry in a prize draw)? How much will you offer? How will you ensure that the payment does not influence decision to take part and their responses to your questions?
- Will you be collecting 'sensitive' data under the definition of the Data Protection Act 1998 (that is, data about participants' racial/ethnic origin; political opinions, religious (or similar) beliefs, trade union membership, physical/mental health; sexual life; offences; criminal proceedings, outcomes & sentences)? What steps have you taken to ensure that only sensitive data which is essential to the research is collected? How will you anonymise the data? How will you ensure the safety and security of the data?
- What level of anonymity or confidentiality will you promise the participants? How will you guarantee this?
- Who will you inform about the findings of the research, and how? Will you tell participants about the results?
- If the work involves data collection outside the UK, are there any special issues arising because of the country/ies where the work takes place? Issues might include different values and traditions which affect approaches to gaining informed consent, and making arrangements for speakers of other languages.

Question 3: Please attach the requested information to your application.

⁵⁴ Adults with a learning or physical disability, a physical or mental illness, or a reduction in physical or mental capacity, and living in a care home or home for people with learning difficulties or receiving care in their own home, or receiving hospital or social care services. (This is the definition from the Police Act 1997 which created the Criminal Records Bureau: it is specific to the role of the CRB.)



a programme funded by DFID



Consent Form

School-Based Management Committees (SBMCs) in policy and practice in Nigeria

A Research Project (March – April 2009)

I have read the information leaflet about the research ☐ (please tick)

I agree to be interviewed ☐ (please tick)

Name _____

Signature _____ Date _____

Researcher's Name _____

Signature _____ Date _____

ESSPIN Abuja: Abia House, Plot 979, 1st Avenue, Off Ahmadu Bello Way, Cadastral Zone AO, Central Business District, Abuja.

Contact Person: *Fatima Aboki, Lead Specialist – Community Interaction.*



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Information Leaflet

School-Based Management Committees (SBMCs) in policy and practice in Nigeria

A Research Project (March – April 2009)

You can tell me that you will take part either verbally, or by signing the consent form.

Will you know about the research results?

At Community level, we will hold a feedback meeting on our last day. A summary of research findings will be sent to LGEA, State and Federal level participants.

The Project has been reviewed by the Faculty Research Ethics Committee, Faculty of Policy and Society, Institute of Education, University of London, UK (March 2009).

Thank you for reading this leaflet.

Helen Poulsen (Lead Researcher)

h.poulsen@ioe.ac.uk

0703 890 8206

Fatima Aboki (Lead Specialist – Community Interaction, ESSPIN)

What will happen to you if you take part?

If you agree to participate, members of the research team will take notes while you are talking. We are not looking for right or wrong answers, only for what everyone really thinks.

Could there be problems for you if you take part?

I hope you will enjoy talking to us. Some people may feel uncomfortable or unhappy talking about some topics. If they want to stop talking, we will stop. If you have any problems with the project, please tell us.

Will doing the research help you?

The information that you give us may be included in a report, which will help ESSPIN to develop future plans. In addition, it will contribute to Helen's PhD research, which is focused on learning more about how community participation in schools can be improved. There is no possibility of payment for participants.

Who will know that you have been in the research?

We will keep all notes in a safe place, and will change all the names in our reports – and the name of the school/community – so that no one knows who said what.

Do you have to take part?

You decide if you want to take part and, even if you say 'yes', you can drop out at any time or say that you don't want to answer some questions.

Why is this research being done?

The purpose of this research is to find out about how different communities support their schools, with a particular focus on School Based Management Committees.

Who will be in the project?

Meetings will be held with different people including:

- Federal, State and LGEA officials
- Members of Schools, including headteacher and teachers
- Members of the Community, including community leader, SBMC Chair, women's groups, parents of children at the school.

What will happen during the research?

At Community level, the research team will spend five days in each community, conducting interviews and activities with the people outlined above.

What kind of questions will be asked?

- What are the organizations in your community that support the school?
- Who are the members of these organizations?
- What resources do they have and from where?
- How are women represented?
- How is information about decisions taken communicated?
- Who makes those decisions?
- What changes have happened in the school and community as a result?

Appendix 12: Signed consent forms

1

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esspin
EDUCATION SECTOR SUPPORT PROGRAMME IN NIGERIA

Plot 212, Nuhu Muhammadu M - +234 (0)70 3413 8356
Sanusi Way, Off Kiyawa Road education@esspin.org
Dutse, Jigawa State

www.esspin.org

Consent Form

School Based Management Committees (SBMCs) in Policy and Practice in Nigeria

A Research Project (March – April 2009)

I have read the information leaflet about the research ☒ (please tick)

I agree to be interviewed ☒ (please tick)

Name

Ita Oluwalade Ad
[Redacted Name Box]

D/SM

Signature

[Redacted Signature Box]

Date

1-4-09

Researcher's Name

[Redacted Researcher Name Box]

Signature

[Redacted Signature Box]

Date

1-4-09

Contact Person: Musa Mohammed Hadejia, Access & Equity Specialist, ESSPIN Jigawa

State Interview - Jigawa

Appendix 13: SCUK Child Safeguarding Policy

	Policy Date: 1 September 2008	Policy Owner: Director of Global Child Safeguarding
Policy Title	Save the Children UK Child Safeguarding Policy	
Core Policy Area	Child Safeguarding	

Rule	<p>Under Save the Children UK Global Policies a child is defined as:</p> <p>Anyone under 18 years of age</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The following people must comply with the Child Safeguarding Policy: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ all staff, full time, part time, international and national, and to those engaged on short-term contracts, e.g. consultants, researchers etc (referred to as “staff”); ○ volunteers, board members, trustees (referred to as “representatives”); ○ staff and representatives of partner agencies and any other individuals, groups or organizations who have a formal/contractual relationship to Save the Children that involves them having contact with children - unless it has been agreed under the global guidance and local procedures that the partner organisation may enforce its own safeguarding or protection policy (referred to as “staff of partner agencies”) 2. Donors, journalists, celebrities, politicians and other people who visit Save the Children programmes or offices and may come into contact with children must be given a copy of this policy and be made aware that they must act in accordance with it whilst visiting programmes or offices. 3. All Save the Children staff and representatives must act in accordance with this policy in both their professional and their personal lives. 4. All Save the Children staff and representatives must sign the Declaration of Acceptance, prior to or at the time of issuing of any employment contract, to show that they are aware of this policy, the
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[Child Safeguarding Joint Statement](#) and their Summary Local Procedures and will act in accordance with these documents.

5. All staff and representatives must:
 - report concerns that a child is a victim of child abuse or sexual exploitation immediately in accordance with their Local Procedures.
 - undertake induction and training on this policy which is relevant and appropriate to their position.
 - cooperate fully and confidentially in any investigation of concerns and allegations.
 - respond to a child who may have been abused/exploited in accordance with the Local Procedures and in accordance with their best interest and safety.
 - identify minimise and attempt to avoid potential situations of risk for children
 - identify and avoid potential situations, which may lead to staff behaviour being misinterpreted
 - ensure, when making images of children e.g. photographs, videos, that they are respectful, that the children are adequately clothed and that sexually suggestive poses are avoided;
 - ensure that any image or recorded case history of a child does not place him/her at risk or render him/her vulnerable to any form of abuse.
 - ensure that the [Child Safeguarding – Safe Child Participation policy](#) is complied with if any child is to participate in any activity other than as a beneficiary, e.g. a campaigning event, awards ceremony, panel or any other event or in internet social networking;
6. Save the Children staff and representatives must never:
 - hit or otherwise physically assault or physically abuse children;
 - have sexual intercourse, or engage in any sexual activity, with anyone under 18 years of age, regardless of the age of consent locally. Mistaken belief in the age of the child is not a defence;
 - develop relationships with children which could in any way be deemed exploitative or abusive;
 - act in ways that may be abusive or may place a child at risk of abuse;
 - use language, make suggestions or offer advice which is inappropriate, offensive or abusive;
 - behave physically in a way that is inappropriate or sexually provocative;
 - have a child/children with whom they are working to stay overnight at their home (unless necessary and previously agreed with managers that this is for the safety of the child);
 - sleep in the same bed as a child with whom they are working;
 - sleep in the same room as a child with whom they are working (unless necessary and previously agreed with managers that this is for the safety of the child)
 - do things for children of an intimate, personal nature that they

	<p>can do for themselves;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • condone, or participate in, behaviour of children which is illegal, unsafe or abusive; • act in ways intended to shame, humiliate, belittle or degrade children, or otherwise perpetrate any form of emotional abuse; • discriminate against, show unfair differential treatment to, or favour particular children to the exclusion of others; • act as negotiator in or assist the process of financial settlement between the family of a child victim of sexual abuse or exploitation and the perpetrator; or • spend excessive time alone with children away from others (including in vehicles) or spend time in a child's home unless exceptional circumstances apply and they have the prior approval of their line manager. <p>7. All staff and representatives must be aware that any allegation of the abuse or exploitation of children made against them will be investigated, under these Child Safeguarding policies:</p> <p>a) by consideration of referral to statutory authorities for criminal investigation and prosecution under the law of the country in which they work (this also applies to any representative or staff of any partner agency with whom Save the Children has agreed child protection protocols); and/or</p> <p>b) by Save the Children in accordance with the Global Procedures for dealing with Suspected Abuse and Exploitation and under disciplinary procedures, which may result in dismissal.</p> <p>8. All agreements between a) Save the Children and b) implementing partners (other individuals, groups or organizations who have a formal/contractual relationship to Save the Children that involves them having contact with children) must include agreement on the issue of this Child Safeguarding Policy. Partner agencies must either adopt this policy or have developed their own policy of a similar standard. Partnership agreements must clearly outline agreed procedures for reporting and investigating concerns involving breaches of the policy involving issues of child abuse and exploitation.</p>
<p>Guidance</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Save the Children has a central commitment to child safeguarding, through a Joint Statement by the Head of Global Child Safeguarding, the Chief Executive and the Chair of Trustees and the Commitment to Children document.

- Safeguarding children is a global organisation-wide responsibility. Within this broad approach there are specific responsibilities within departments and positions. This is reflected in the structure of these policies. This Child Safeguarding policy should be seen as the universal set of responsibilities, the implementation of which is enabled through the other three policies: [Child Safeguarding – Local Procedures](#); [Child Safeguarding – Reporting Suspected Abuse](#); [Child Safeguarding – Safe Child Participation](#), and other related guidance and supporting tools.
- All staff and representatives should recognise that:
 - a child is any person under the age of 18 years
 - all children are equal irrespective of their gender, disability, ethnicity, sexuality, marital status or religion;
 - all children have the right to freedom from abuse and exploitation;
 - all child abuse involves the abuse of children's rights;
 - Save the Children's commitment to children's rights means that we have a commitment to safeguard children, especially those we are in contact with;
 - Save the Children is committed to ensuring that children are aware of their right to be protected from abuse and exploitation; we will communicate that right to them;
 - Save the Children is committed to ensuring that all our own staff and representatives wherever they are located, apply the highest standards of behaviour towards children both within their professional and their private lives
- All staff and representatives should aim to:
 - plan and organise the work and the workplace so as to minimise risk of abuse, exploitation or harm coming to a child;
 - promote a culture of openness in relation to child safeguarding issues, where any issues or concerns can be raised and discussed;
 - ensure that a sense of accountability exists between staff so that poor practice or potentially abusive behaviour can be challenged;
 - talk to children about their contact with staff or others and encourage them to raise any concerns;
 - empower child beneficiaries and communicate to them their rights, what is acceptable and unacceptable, and what they can do if there is a problem;
 - communicate to child beneficiaries what standards of professional practice they can expect of Save the Children staff and what to do if they feel that Save the Children staff are falling short of these standards.; and
 - proactively seek opposition to safeguard children
- This Child Safeguarding Policy is in addition (and complementary) to the general [Code of Conduct](#). It specifies the professional behaviour and good practice expected by Save the Children from all staff and representatives in relation to children. The [Code of Conduct](#) also identifies behaviour which is unacceptable in relation to children.

- The [Global Procedures for Dealing with Suspected Abuse and Exploitation](#) identify principles and procedures to guide staff in responding to cases of suspected abuse.
- The Local Procedures are drawn up in each country and provide practical procedures for when and how to report to concerns. These local procedures will identify when and how to report issues that occur outside of SCUK. They also identify the mandatory process for reporting all concerns which involve representatives of Save the Children.
- ***Adhering to these Policies, Procedures and Guidance will safeguard children from abuse, ensure concerns are responded to professionally and may safeguard staff and representatives from allegations of misconduct or abuse.***
- By following this policy, staff and representatives will be both playing their part in safeguarding children, and developing best practice in working with children. As with the general [Code of Conduct](#), if a staff member breaks this policy or fails to meet the standard of behaviour that it requires, disciplinary action may be taken. This may include dismissal and/or referral to national authorities for criminal investigation and prosecution, should you break the law of the country in which you are based and/or in which an offence is committed.
- Rule 6: Things of an intimate, personal nature: This includes activities of an intimate nature such as toileting, bathing and dressing a child. These activities should only be undertaken if the child is unable to do them him/herself.
- Rule 8: Guidance on good practice in this area is available and other [Keeping Children Safe training materials](#) are available, which are specifically designed to assist partner agencies develop robust child safeguarding systems.

Appendix 14: Analysis workshop programme & report

14.1 Report

14.2 Workshop programme

14.3 Day programme

14.4 Strategies arising from the workshop

Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria (ESSPIN)

SBMC research report

Report Number (completed by ESSPIN)

Helen Poulsen

April 2009

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

ESSPIN	Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria
FME	Federal Ministry of Education
JSS	Junior Secondary School
LGA	Local Government Area
LGEA	Local Government Education Authority
SBMC	School Based Management Committee

Abstract

12. This is a report of a consultancy to conduct analysis of the research on School Based Management Committees (SBMCs) under Component 4 of ESSPIN. During this visit, the consultant led analysis of the research findings in a workshop in Abuja from 14th – 19th April 2009 and...

Executive Summary

13. This is the report on a consultancy as part of the SBMC research under Component 4, the main phase of which took place from 16th March – 4th April 2009. The purpose of the consultancy was to analyse the data from the main phase of the research.
14. A workshop was held in Abuja from 14th – 19th April 2009 with the 5 state research consultants, who led the research at State level.

Purpose of the Consultancy (using “Sub-section heading”)

15. The purpose of the consultancy was to analyse the findings of the SBMC research, and to present preliminary findings.

Achievement of the terms of reference

TOR Tasks	Progress made and agreements reached (with whom)	Proposed/agreed follow up (by whom and when)
Facilitate the collation and analysis of data and information using agreed format	Joint analysis with state research consultants completed.	
Produce a draft and finalize reports of a consolidated 5 states to ESSPIN		Draft state reports to be completed by 8th May 2009. Draft synthesis report to be completed by 15th June 2009 (agreed with Fatima Aboki).
Debrief ESSPIN and other stakeholders on outcomes and recommendations	Presentation for ESSPIN and partners given 21st April 2009.	
Develop strategies for ESSPIN implementation phase	Presentation of strategies arising from the research given	Presentations to government at federal and state level as well as

	(see above).	other stakeholders to follow at a time to be proposed by ESSPIN.
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Background

16. The School Based Management Committee research is a piece of qualitative research which seeks to clarify how this policy is understood at different levels of the system, and how it is enacted on the ground with particular attention to implications for gender, poverty and the provision of quality education (see Annex 1 for TORs).
17. The methodology is based on in-depth case studies in 10 schools in ESSPIN states, as well as interviews with key individuals at Federal, State, LGEA level and a literature review.
18. This phase of the research involved analysing the data with the state research consultants. This was done using a participatory methodology in order to identify key themes arising and to agree on key findings and a structure for the final report.

Findings and Issues Arising

19. The analysis was conducted with the state research consultants. Each consultant presented to the group findings from their state, LGA and community level research. The group noted down on cards the issues and themes that arose. After all the presentations were complete, the group sorted the cards into categories. The group then developed statements related to the categories which will be used in the case study reports by analysing to what extent the cases support or contradict the statements. In this way we avoid the potential pitfall of generalising from the case studies. A format for the case study reports was agreed.
20. Federal level interviews were conducted with three FME representatives and one civil society representative.
21. A presentation of preliminary findings and strategies arising from the research was given to ESSPIN and partners on 21st April 2009 (see Annex 2 for presentation).
22. Key findings are summarised below. See the research synthesis report for more detail.
 - There is lack of clarity about what kind of institution the SBMC should be, and the reason for its existence.
 - There is confusion over roles, relationships, communication and management of SBMCs.
 - In all cases there are rich networks of organisations, networks and individuals supporting the school.
 - Standards of teaching and learning are so inadequate in most cases that SBMC alone cannot provide solutions.
 - There is willingness at community level to work for change, but so often parents and members of the wider community are excluded by the groups of elites that control schools and SBMCs.
 - SBMCs lack financial resources, and without resources they will never be established.
 - SBMC membership requires a complex set of skills.
 - Women's participation in SBMCs is highly constrained.
 - Children's participation is not accepted.
 - In many cases, parents, children and even teachers know nothing about SBMCs.
 - Decision-making on SBMCs tends not to be participatory and power is still held in the hands of a few.

Options and next steps

23. Draft state reports will be completed by the state research consultants by 8th May 2009. A draft synthesis report will be completed by 15th June 2009.

24. The question of how findings from the research will feed into Component 4 strategy was discussed with the Fatima Aboki, the Lead Specialist for Community Interaction. It was agreed that it might be useful in the process of strategy development to present research findings and facilitate discussion with a wider audience including government and other key stakeholders . However since the timing of this process is as yet unclear, the lead specialist will contact the consultant at a later date. State level presentations will be led by the state research consultants.

Annexes

Terms of Reference:

Title of Assignment: School Based Management Committee Research

Location of Assignment: Abuja, Lagos, Kano, Kwara, Kaduna and Jigawa States

Duration: 75 days

Background

Despite the possession of considerable oil wealth, a rising population, inefficient government investment in front line public services and years of neglect have left the Nigerian education system in a poor state. Education indicators are amongst the lowest in Sub-Saharan Africa, particularly for girls. Currently it is estimated that there are 7-9 million school aged children not attending school, a disproportionate percentage of whom are girls.

Since legislation was passed in 2004 establishing nine-year compulsory Universal Basic Education, the main sectoral focus of Federal and State governments has been an expansion of basic education to meet the Millennium Development Goals. There has been a significant increase in investment in the basic education sector through State governments and through Federal sources such as the Universal Basic Education Commission (UBEC). Access remains a problem, as do the low quality of education outcomes and the stark inequities in the system.

The Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria (ESSPIN) is a six year DFID programme of education development assistance and is a part of a suite of programmes aimed at improvements in governance and the delivery of basic services. ESSPIN's aim is to have a sustainable impact upon the way in which government in Nigeria delivers education services and is directed at enabling institutions to bring about systemic change in the education system, leveraging Nigerian resources in support of State and Federal Education Sector Plans and building capacity for sustainability. It is currently operating in five States (Kano, Kaduna, Kwara, Jigawa and Lagos) and at the Federal level. ESSPIN builds upon previous technical assistance projects in education, in particular the Capacity for Universal Basic Education Project (CUBE). ESSPIN will run in parallel with World Bank credit-funded projects in four of the States (the State Education Sector Project (SESP) in Kano, Kaduna and Kwara and SESP II in Lagos).

Objectives of the assignment

The main objectives of this consultancy are: (1) to provide a comprehensive analysis of the status of school-based management committees in ESSPIN states so as to form a strong analytical foundation, and (2) to explore the way forward to further expand and strengthen SBMC for improving education service delivery and outcome.

Specific task for the consultancy (See details attached as annex)

- To provide technical and professional lead in the design of School Based Management Committee research in collaboration with National consultants and state teams. This will include; developing criteria for selection of sample LGA/School communities, training of field researchers, develop field reporting format, piloting the draft instruments and conduct a review of the instruments in Kano state.
- Coordinate and supervise the field research in 5 states whilst at the same time carrying out document desk review
- Facilitate the collation and analysis of data and information using agreed format
- Produce preliminary and progress reports.
- Produce a draft and finalize reports of a consolidated 5 states to ESSPIN
- Debrief ESSPIN and other stakeholders on outcomes and recommendations
- Develop strategies for ESSPIN implementation phase

Outputs

4. Summary reports of the each phase and of the consultancy will be shared and discussed by the international consultant, the Lead Specialist and Community Interaction prior to departure from Nigeria. The consultant will also ensure that the Lead Specialist and the Technical Team Leader are fully informed throughout the period of the consultancy.
5. A draft analytical report of the consultancy will be submitted within 14 days of the completion of this consultancy and summary presentation to ESSPIN and other key stakeholders for comments.
6. A final report on the process, analysis undertaken in each of the states, the strategies and action plans to take forward commitments on support to SBMCs in ESSPIN states are expected within two weeks of the completion of this assignment. The report should be submitted electronically by email, in Microsoft Word, font Arial – size; 12.

Institutional/administrative arrangements

The consultant will report to the Lead Specialist Community Interaction and will undertake this assignment in 6 phases: an initial planning and pilot visit to work with National consultants and field researchers in Kano state. The consultant will coordinate and undertake actual field work in Kaduna, Jigawa, Kwara and Lagos States. Collaborate with the co researchers to analysis field data, debrief and submit a report.

Timing, venue and duration of the Consultancy

This assignment is expected to be undertaken in phases, spread across coming months (February – June 2009). The process will begin with an initial ten (10) day's work in February during which plans for subsequent phases of the research will be agreed between the international consultant and ESSPIN.

Timing (tentative)

2 weeks in February 2009

2 weeks in March 2009

2 week in April 2009

1 week in May/June 2009

1 week in June/July 2009

Venue

ESSPIN states, (Kano, Kaduna, Kwara, Lagos and Jigawa), other relevant federal agencies and in particular UBEC, State MoEs, SUBEB, CSO, MDG office, LGEAs and school/communities.

Competencies**Qualifications/experience**

4. A postgraduate qualification in education, social development or development management and experience of strategies to community participation and social service delivery.
5. Extensive practical experience of community interactions and school development management structures in developing countries.
6. Experience of providing professional and technical inputs in development assistance programmes/projects.

Knowledge

5. Practical knowledge of educational development issues in Nigeria and other countries.
6. In-depth knowledge and experience of current international literature on school Based management and governance.
7. Knowledge of Nigerian Government and parastatal structures and systems.
8. Experience of School Based Management Committees initiatives in resource poor environments in developing countries (essential), preferably in Nigeria (desirable)

Abilities

5. Ability to communicate appropriately with clients and stakeholders and to elicit reliable information.
6. Ability to inspire colleagues and to act as member of a team.
7. Ability to design and facilitate/implement an investigation into the outcomes and effectiveness of school based management committees.
8. Ability to design and facilitate participative and interactive workshops

Annex A**School Based Management Committees (SBMCS) in policy and practice in Nigeria
Background**

- **Rationale**

The problems of Nigeria's education system are well documented. There is poor access to education, particularly for girls and the poorest citizens. Net primary school attendance was only 64% for boys and 57% for girls in 2003. In the north in particular, the situation is worse – only 34% of girls attend school⁵⁵. For those who do have access, the quality of education is poor⁵⁶.

School Management Committees are promoted in international and national development policy as a way to improve the quality of education provision and to promote democracy at the local level. International experience suggests that SBMCs can, in certain conditions, be linked to improvements but the evidence is limited and in some cases contradictory.

In Nigeria, recent changes in education policy have sought to introduce School Based Management Committees (SBMCs) across the country. A number of different programmes and initiatives have been supporting the establishment and functioning of SBMCs (e.g. GEP, ActionAid, CSACEFA, CAPP projects). There is, however, a lack of research on whether and how SBMC policy is being implemented on the ground, and what effect SBMCs are having on communities and on schools.

The DfID-supported Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria (ESSPIN) project provides an important opportunity to review what has been done so far and what shape future support to SBMCs might take. This research, therefore, seeks to clarify how this policy is understood at different levels of the system, and how it is enacted on the ground with particular attention to implications for gender, poverty and the provision of quality education.

- **Brief overview of the literature**

Recent years have seen an increased focus on community participation in education in international development policy and practice. Bray⁵⁷ suggests that this increase should be seen in the context of a worldwide shift by the 1980s towards privatisation in the public sector, including education, because government operations were seen as inefficient and unresponsive to changing circumstances. One of the reasons why the trend towards community-based solutions was attractive to governments was that it meant parents, communities and civil society taking on some of the financial and other burdens of education. In terms of outcomes, Bray notes positive results in terms of recruitment, retention and attendance of pupils, and improved learning outcomes. However, his findings indicate that there are aspects of school effectiveness where community impact is limited, for example in supply and training of teachers. He further notes that community participation can increase geographical and social disparities between communities, 'because the groups that are already advantaged are in a better position to help themselves than the disadvantaged groups'.

Rose's⁵⁸ study of the impact that community participation has had on improving gender equity in educational outcomes in sub-Saharan Africa indicates a mixed picture. There is evidence that *under the right conditions* community participation can contribute to increased rates of enrolment for girls. However, there is limited evidence for improved achievement and transition. Indeed, 'As an end in itself, community participation in schooling appears to have resulted in an entrenchment and reinforcement of gender relations, rather than empowering those traditionally excluded from more genuine aspects of participation'.

Burde⁵⁹ notes that approaches to community participation in education are often not well implemented and have unrealistic aims and objectives. It is 'a complex tool that can be manipulated in multiple ways to varying effect... To the extent that it works to increase the efficiency and quality of social services, participation may provide a patchwork solution to systemic problems, veiling more profound and contentious issues of structural change and political representation'. Burde therefore argues that community participation should complement and check the state, not replace it. In summary, the evidence from these selected sources suggests that the impact of community participation as a strategy is mixed, with a strong indication of the need to retain a focus on understanding the communities as unique and differentiated, if school management committees and other community participation initiatives are to be successful. The other indication is that community participation strategies are not

⁵⁵ World Bank. (2005). *Empowering people by transforming institutions: Social development in World Bank operations*.

⁵⁶ Federal Government of Nigeria. (2004). *Nigeria: National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy*. Abuja, Nigeria: National Planning Commission.

⁵⁷ Bray, M. (2000). *Community Partnerships in Education: Dimensions, Variations and Implications*. EFA thematic study. Dakar.

⁵⁸ Rose, P. (2003). Communities, gender and education: Evidence from sub-Saharan Africa. Background paper for 2003 UNESCO Global Monitoring Report.

⁵⁹ Burde, D. (2004). "Weak state, strong community? Promoting community participation in post-conflict countries." Current issues in comparative education 6(2).

the solution to educational problems; but they might be useful as part of a range of strategies to tackling complex problems. A more comprehensive review of the national and international literature will be required to confirm these early conclusions.

The theoretical approach of this study draws on critical policy analysis, gender theory and critical approaches to community. For example, it will employ the concept of recontextualisation⁶⁰: that is, the ways in which policies change when they interact with new contexts. Crucial to this is an analysis of 'fields of contest', that is, the disputes and conflicts that take place at national, local and institutional levels, their changing relationships and their inter-penetration⁶¹. It is also informed by literature on gender and development which views an understanding of the gendered power relations as crucial to analysing and understanding institutions. In addition the research is informed by a critical approach to the concept of community; that is, one that questions a unitary and homogeneous view of community.

Research questions

- What are the key policies around SBMCs in Nigeria, and how are they understood by key stakeholders at federal, state, local government, school and community levels?
- How have these policies been 'enacted' at school and community level?
- What are the implications of the ways in which SBMC policy has been implemented for questions of gender, poverty and school governance?
- What strategies do the findings suggest for future ESSPIN research and engagement with SBMCs?

Methodology

Phase 1: Literature review

A review of the literature on the impact and effectiveness of community participation initiatives, including SBMCs, in Nigeria will be conducted. This review will feed into the Situational Analysis of Basic Education Service Delivery in Nigeria, to be conducted as part of the research strategy for the inception phase.⁶²

Phase 2: Setting up the research.

During this preliminary phase, TORs for the field researchers will be developed, and field and state researchers will be recruited; detailed methodology and tools will be developed, researchers will be trained and tools will be piloted. Training and piloting will take place in one of the study states.

Phase 3: Field research

Field research will be conducted in Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Kwara and Lagos states. This will be a qualitative piece of research because it seeks to explore what is happening and why at school community level in relation to SBMCs. In-depth case studies will be conducted in two communities in each of the four study states – 10 case studies in total. These case studies will use a mixture of methodological approaches including interviews, observation and participatory research to develop a detailed SBMC, school and community profiles. These profiles will help to clarify questions about who SBMC members are, what kind of activities they are involved in and why, how they see their roles, and what relationships exist between SBMC members, different community members, teachers, parents and others. We envisage the development of a SBMC profiling 'tool' which could be used more broadly and/or used to revisit these communities over a period of time to track changes.

A crucial element of this research will be the opportunity it presents for capacity building within state ministries of education and Local Government Authorities (LGAs). The research will therefore be conducted by one state/LGA official (state researcher) and one field researcher, supported by State Consultants in each of the five states. Researchers will work in state-based pairs. Each pair will spend 5 days in each community, 3 days interviewing LGA & state officials, plus 2 days writing up time – i.e. 15 working days in each state.

At federal, state and local government level, semi-structured interviews will be conducted with government officials and representatives of NGOs and donor organisations to explore understandings of SBMC policy.

Phase 4: Analysis

⁶⁰ See e.g. Bernstein, B. (1990). *The structuring of pedagogic discourse*. London, Routledge.

⁶¹ Ball, S. (1998). Big Policies/Small World: An Introduction to International Perspectives in Education Policy. *Comparative Education*, 34(2).

⁶² Akyeampong, K. (2009). *Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria (ESSPIN). Research strategy for inception phase*. Abuja: ESSPIN. See Annex A for draft literature review questions.

Analysis will be conducted collaboratively over a 2-week period by the full research team,. This is based on the belief that research findings with a large team of researchers working in diverse contexts are best discussed collaboratively at the initial stage of analysis in order to make best use of the data.

Phase 5: Writing up

The writing of the final report will be led by the lead researcher, with assistance from the rest of the research team. A full report and summary report will be produced.

Phase 6: Dissemination & design/planning of follow up

The following outputs are planned:

- A presentation of preliminary findings will be made after the analysis phase in mid April, timed to feed into the inception report of ESSPIN.
- A full and summary report will be produced by end of July.
- A conference paper will be developed for UKFIET 2009 – effect of EFA on communities theme – to be lead by CR with support of LR. This may also be developed into a journal paper.

There will be options to extend the research so that it can feed into ESSPIN research strategy & ESSPIN monitoring.

Annex B:

Draft questions for literature review

1 What are the different ways in which parents and community members have been involved in school management in the past, and why?

- Look at historical factors that shape present attitudes to community participation in schools especially the effects of military dictatorships & return of democracy
- Policy development
- Look at differences between states
- PTAs
- Other arrangements, formal or informal
- SBMCs formed as a result of the 2007 order but without support or training
- Look at key projects & initiatives that have included a focus on SBMCs or their precursors including Self Help, CUBE initiatives, GEP, CSACEFA, CAPP, ActionAid, government training & others.

2 What are the documented results of that involvement (and what remains undocumented), and why?

- What evaluations of projects and interventions mentioned in (1) are available?
- What indicators were used to monitor and evaluate SBMCs, with what results?
- What evidence, if any, is there that SBMCs had an impact on:
 - Enrolment (by gender, poorer children)
 - Achievement (by gender, poorer children)
 - Participation of men, women, poorer community members in decision making
- What reasons, if any, are given for those impacts
- How convincing is the evidence?
- Where projects & initiatives have not been evaluated or documented, is any other evidence available (anecdotal, statistical, other)?
- Where projects and initiatives have finished is there evidence of any on-going impact, and if so, what?

3 What lessons can be drawn for future interventions?

- Structure, roles & responsibilities
- Systems of accountability
- Incentives
- Women/children participation and representation
- Strategies that support enrolment, attendance, equity, participation

Annex 2: Presentation

Slide 1

School Based Management Committees (SBMCs) in policy and practice

Preliminary findings

Helen Poulsen, Institute of Education
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21st April 2009

Slide 2

Outline

- Background
- Research questions
- Methodology
- Conceptual framework
- Case study schools
- Findings
- Strategies

Slide 3

Background

- Increasing focus on community participation in education internationally
- Heavy burden of expectations on this 'policy technology'
- Democratisation & representation or control & cost savings?
- In Nigeria these issues are very much under debate

Slide 4

Research questions

- What are the key policies around SBMCs and how are they understood by key stakeholders at federal, state, local government, school and community levels?
- How have these policies been 'enacted' at school and community level?
- What are the implications of the ways in which SBMC policy has been implemented for questions of gender, poverty and school governance?
- What strategies do the findings suggest for future ESSPIN research and engagement with SBMCs?

Slide 5

Methodology

- Federal, state & LGA level interviews
- 10 qualitative case studies, 5 states
- Mixed methods: interviews, observation, FGDs, PRA tools
- Headteachers, teachers, community leaders, women's leaders, mothers, fathers, students.

Slide 6

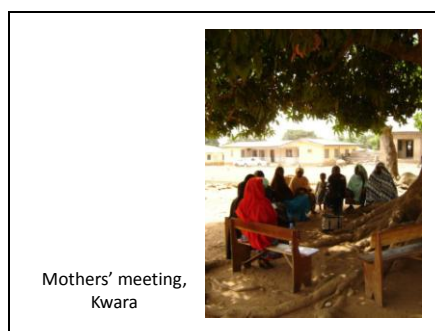


Social & resource mapping in Jigawa

Slide 7



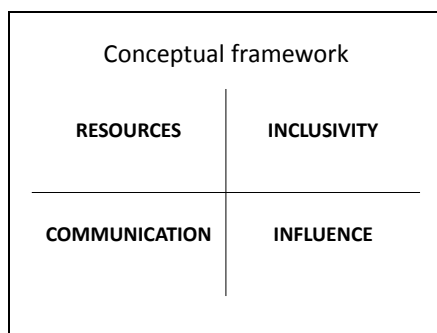
Slide 8



Slide 9



Slide 10



Slide 11

Case study schools

Case	Location	Intermediaries	Size	SBMC status
Kaduna 1: F	Central town	Health workers	L	*
Kaduna 2: F	Rural outskirts	None	L	*
Kaduna 3: A	Peri-urban	None	M	*
Kaduna 4: A	Former army rehabilitation camp	None	M	*
Kaduna 5: F	Rural	SDP	S	**
Kaduna 6: P	Small village	SDP	M	**
Kaduna 7: P	Centre	SDP	M	*
Kaduna 8: K	Edge of small, isolated town (Gadagwa)	None	M	*
Ngema 1: G	Rural village	Community health workers	S	*
Ngema 2: M	Rural village	SDP	S	**
Lagos 1: D	Urban	None	M	*
Lagos 2: I	New settlement	None	M	*
Lagos 3: I	Urban	COMFAGS	M	*

Size Large >1000
Medium 300-1000
Small <300
Catchment
SBMC status
- not formed
* formed not functional
** formed functional

Slide 12

Findings

Context

- In all cases there are rich networks of organisations, networks and individuals supporting the school.
- Standards of teaching and learning are so inadequate in most cases that SBMC alone cannot provide solutions.
- There is willingness at all levels to work for change

Slide 13

Findings

SBMC policy


- Uncertainty over the reason for its existence
- Confusion over roles, relationships, communication and management.

Slide 14

Findings

<p>RESOURCES</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •SBMCs lack financial resources •Complex set of skills required 	<p>INCLUSIVITY</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Women's participation is constrained •Children's participation is not accepted
<p>COMMUNICATION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Parents, children and even teachers know nothing about SBMC 	<p>INFLUENCE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •SBMCS have the potential to effect substantial change

Slide 15



Islamiyya School (Jigawa)

Slide 16



Classroom (Kwara)

Slide 17



Classroom (Lagos)

Slide 18

Strategies

- Review SBMC policy and guidelines
- Clarify school funding and SBMC's role in relation to it
- Work at grassroots level to develop people's knowledge about their rights in relation to education, and their skills to enable them to work through the SBMC to achieve them
- Continue to work with, and learn from, the case study schools.

14.2 ANALYSIS WORKSHOP OUTLINE

	Plan for the day	Other
Tuesday 13th April	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introductions • Plan for the day • Data audit & organisation • Personal reflection & sharing • Meanings & aims • Process • Case 1 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alero re: policy meetings • Data copying
Wednesday 14th	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cases 2-5 	9-1030 Case 2 1130-1300 case 3 1400 – 1530 case 4 1530-1700 case 5
Thursday 15th	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cases 6-9 	
Friday 16th	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cases 10-12 • Sorting cards 	
Saturday 17th	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indexing 	
Sunday 18th	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strategies 	11-1 only

14.3 Outline Tuesday 14th April

0900	Welcome & plan for the day
0930	Data audit & organisation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fill out form • Assign unique number to all cases • Identify gaps
1030	Personal reflection <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What were the 5 most important things you saw, heard, felt or learned during the field research? • Write each on a separate card
1100	Coffee
1130	Feedback <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Share cards • Sort & categorise
1300	Lunch
1400	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meanings • Aims • Process • Identify champions (Gender, poverty, teaching & learning, school governance) • Plan for the week
1500	Case 1
1700	Finish

14.4 STRATEGIES

1. Integrate SBMC s with existing structures to enable collaboration as well as impact.
2. PTA/SBMC
Policy and advocacy issues on Resource Allocation to SBMC and PTA abolition.
3. Support the review of the clustering of SBMC in Lagos State to be community /school specific for better performance.
4. Support the research and field test of SBMC capacity-building models in selected LGA.
5. Support further work on SBMC policy on its review, conceptualisation and refinement.

POINTS:

Need for report writing workshops

No formal links between CBO'S and PTA's

SBMC lack capacity to monitor/manage schools

Work at grass roots to see to inform people of their rights in relation to education.

And give them the skills to demand them

Review and simplify SBMC guidelines

Involvement of ES and other policy makers is key to SBMC success

Potentials in strengthening SBMC's through capacity building support

Long term organisational development support including mentoring and coaching as against 'one off'

T.O.T. for cascading

Translation of SBMC manual into Hausa.

Different ways of working in different areas

Appendix 15 Analysis strategy

15.1 Analysis strategy for ESSPIN research

What is analysis?

'The process of taking things apart and putting them together again' (Laws: 381)

Analysis is something we do in everyday life – e.g. if a colleague doesn't turn up for work one morning. (Hypothesise, test, question, make decisions)

3 stages of analysis

- 1) Organise
- 2) Break it down & identify themes
- 3) Bring it back together (how do different elements relate to each other? What does the data mean?)

Spiral model

Key questions

- What are the key patterns and trends within the data?
- Are different people telling us the same thing?
- Are there clear patterns of difference – e.g. do men tell us one thing and women another?
- What is missing, that you might have expected to find? What is not being said?
- What data fits the pattern? What are the exceptions?
- What are possible explanations for the patterns?

Questioning the data

- 1) Check the trends (i.e. where the same information appears in different places)
 - Do they fit in with what you expect?
 - Are they surprising?
 - Are they the result of researcher bias?
 - Do they reflect the way the tools were used?
 - Does this mean that the research has uncovered new information or ideas?
- 2) Check the contradictions
 - Are they the result of working with different groups
 - Are they the result of using different methods?
 - Were there external factors affecting the data collection?
- 3) Check the gaps
 - Did you forget to collect some important information? If so, can we fill in the gap somehow?
 - Is there a social silence about this topic? If so, why?

Source: Boyd & Ennew 1997

Avoid the pitfalls

- Introducing your own ideas into the analysis (consider alternative explanations)
- Claiming causal relationships where none exists
- Generalisations
- Reporting data in the same order as the questionnaire

Analysis takes as long as collecting the data

Participatory data analysis

Either:

- Decide on key themes together
- Organise the material according to theme
- Each participant takes one theme & leads on that issue

Or:

- Each participant lists 3-5 things on cards that were the most important things seen, heard, felt or learned during the fieldwork (as if sharing with close friends)
- Then discuss meaning of synthesis & aims of the exercise
- On subsequent days, each team presents their case study & takes questions. Others were active listeners, writing down on cards key themes as they come up
- Cards then sorted & categorised

- Chapter headings were identified & report structure finalised
- Finally teams indexed their reports using categories identified

Categories

- From original research questions & conceptual framework
- Questions
- Data itself
- Theories about what is going on
- Iterative process

Principles for the workshop

- Always keep an identifying code number alongside a quotation or reference

Synthesis stage

15.2 Secondary analysis strategy

Appendix 16: School information

Kachia School, Kaduna state

Field notes from 2009 indicate that there are five blocks of seven classrooms, as well as one block of three ECCD classrooms. The classrooms are in poor condition. There is some furniture, most of it improvised, e.g. planks of wood. There are three pit toilets and hand-dug wells for water. There is a football field and plenty of space to play. At the time of data collected there were 40 teachers at the school. This is a single shift school with total enrolment in 2009 of 449.

Class	Boys	Girls	Total	GPI
ECCD	-	-	-	
1	46	32	78	0.70
2	57	23	80	0.40
3	40	44	84	1.10
4	48	33	81	0.69
5	30	34	64	1.13
6	36	26	62	0.72
TOTAL	257	192	449	0.75

According to researchers' interview with the Headteacher, members of the local community are active in support of the school. Some visit every week and help with school security (Field notes, March 2009). The school communicates with parents 'over discipline cases', and communicates with community members through the PTA if they need contributions to make furniture or repairs. The school is well supported by the PTA and the army, which has a camp nearby. The PTA carries out classroom repairs, constructed toilets and classrooms while the army gave three classrooms a few years ago (Field notes, March 2009).

Zaria School, Kaduna state

The school is located in a dry area with mud houses and a few trees. In addition to this primary school, there are five qu'ranic schools and a clinic in the village. The inhabitants are mainly Hausa-speaking Muslims. At the time of the field visit in 2009 the research team noted that the school had two blocks with six classrooms and three toilets. There is a hand-dug well with a borehole under construction. Six teachers are employed at the school, all men. This is a single shift school with 358 students in total (GPI 0.56). Analysis of the registers in 2009 indicated there are far fewer girls than boys in this school, particularly in classes 5 and 6.

Class	Boys	Girls	Total	GPI
ECCD	-	-	-	
1	57	39	96	0.68
2	49	23	72	0.47
3	40	31	71	0.78
4	16	17	33	1.06
5	38	13	51	0.34
6	30	5	35	0.17
TOTAL	230	128	358	0.56

Individuals sometimes make contributions, for example for a football trip, and local women support the school by talking to parents (Field notes, March 2009). They are also helped by the Zaria football club which maintains the fields and drainage system, and by the Community Development Association. Information about the school is communicated through the chief, who directs town criers to make announcements to the community. They also call public meetings, e.g for digging the well and to communicate about the grant that the SBMC received (Field notes, March 2009).

Waje Model Primary School, Kano state

Waje Model Primary School is located in Fagge LGA in the centre of Kano city. It is located on a main road in a densely built up area of the city. There are 16 classrooms and some furniture, but the condition of the classrooms, noted during the research visit in 2009, is very poor, and many classrooms have no furniture. There is a borehole and 9 toilets (four of which are for staff). In 2009 30 staff were employed. This is a single shift school with a total enrolment of 1147 students, and an overall GPI of 0.86.

Class	Boys	Girls	Total	GPI ⁶³
ECCD	41	49	90	1.20
1	61	63	124	1.03
2	106	82	188	0.77
3	155	111	266	0.72
4	74	81	155	1.09
5	86	78	164	0.91
6	95	65	160	0.68
TOTAL	618	529	1147	0.86

Kumbotso Primary School, Kano State

There are 10 classrooms, and 24 toilets with inadequate water supply. There is furniture only in 2 of the classrooms (6A and 6B). The 2009 fieldnotes noted that the classrooms were extremely crowded, with in some cases 250-300 students to a room. There are 3 water points, but water supply is sporadic. There were 40 staff. This is a double shift school with a total enrolment of 2571 students, with an overall GPI of 0.87.

Class	Boys	Girls	Total	GPI
ECCD	33	27	60	0.82
1	224	198	422	0.88
2	245	181	426	0.74
3	255	233	488	0.91
4	231	204	435	0.88
5	232	267	499	1.15
6	217	137	354	0.63
TOTAL	1437	1247	2684	0.87

The school communicates exam results and report cards to parents and conducts a speech and prize giving day annually 5b. A spot check by the research team revealed that very few children were able to read.

Miga Islamiyya Primary School, Jigawa

This Islamiyya primary school is located in a village in a rural area of Miga LGA in Jigawa state. The inhabitants are Hausa or Fulani, and all are Muslim. The school was set up and is run by the Miga Development Organisation, a community-based organisation that has been running since the 1980s. In 2009 the research team observed the school has a block of 3 classrooms plus two thatched mud rooms. There are four teachers. The total enrolment is 293, with a GPI of 1.02.

Class	Boys	Girls	Total	GPI
ECCD	32	38	70	1.19
1	25	25	50	1.00
2	53	28	81	0.53
3	24	25	49	1.04
4	11	32	43	2.91
TOTAL	145	148	293	1.02

At the time of the field visit in 2009 it was observed that there is no SBMC at this school, but there is a School Development Association (SDA) which is highly organised and structured. Its role is the management and development of school and community. It raises money to support the school and oversees its management. There are no female members of the organisation. The GDA has been in place for 30 years, organising community development activities, including establishing and running the school. It is a well organised institution with a clear structure and constitution.

Maigateri Primary School, Jigawa

This school is located in a village in a rural area of Maigateri LGA. The school was founded in 1976 under the Universal Primary Education (UPE) programme. Since 2005 the school has received support from the UNICEF/DFID Girls Education Project (GEP). There are 2 blocks with total 4 classrooms, all in poor

⁶³ Gender Parity Index (ratio of girls to boys)

condition. There is some furniture, but insufficient. There are 10 teachers. In 2009 the field researchers noted this as a single shift school with 284 students:

Class	Boys	Girls	Total	GPI
ECCD	21	13	34	0.62
1	23	16	39	0.70
2	14	24	38	1.71
3	31	19	50	0.61
4	52	26	78	0.50
5	9	11	20	1.22
6	7	18	25	2.57
TOTAL	157	127	284	0.81

The SBMC was established in 2005 under GEP; however both Headteacher and teacher who were trained under GEP had been transferred since then. Interviews in 2009 indicated that The SBMC has been supporting enrolment and attendance of girls. A spot check by the research team in class 4 revealed little evidence of reading/writing competence.

Adabata Primary School, Kwara

Adabata is a densely populated suburb of Ilorin, the capital city of Kwara state, within Ilorin West LGA. The area is inhabited mainly by Ilorin indigenes, for the most part traders, artisans and civil servants. Adabata 'A' Primary School is located in the heart of Adabata community, on a road between the Emir's Palace and the central mosque. It is an old school, established in 1934, and is supported by SESP. In 2009 there are 49 staff at the school. The Headteacher is a woman of 54 years, who has worked at the school for 2 years (Onibon, 2009, 33). The school has 14 classrooms and 2 toilets.. This is a single shift school with total enrolment of 713 (GPI 0.89).

Class	Boys	Girls	Total	GPI
ECCD	-	-	-	
1	81	55	136	0.68
2	50	58	108	1.16
3	74	70	144	0.95
4	56	57	113	1.02
5	55	54	109	0.98
6	62	41	103	0.66
TOTAL	378	335	713	0.89

These figures indicate that in 2009 there are significantly fewer girls than boys enrolled. The school environment is described by the State research Report as follows:

[It] is safe and secured for the children, though cramped with little or no space for children to play. The children go to the next school compound to play... The [classrooms] are conducive for learning except 4 classrooms that require renovation. There are seats and desks in the classes but inadequate as 4 children still share a desk and chair meant for two pupils (Onibon, 2009, 30).

Field notes in 2009 indicate a mosque under construction on the school site; some said it was being constructed by the PTA, others by the local Muslim Association; this may be an indication of the overlapping nature of these organizations.

Borgu Central Primary School

Kaiaama is a small town in a remote part of Kwara state, close to the border with the Republic of Benin, with poor road connections to the rest of Kwara state. According to the State research Report, Kaiaama is a fast growing town and although over 70% of their working populations are farmers, there are civil servants, artisans and traders. Most of the women are farmers and traders of yam and *elubo* (yam flour). It is an ethnically mixed area, as discussed during the social mapping exercise. 'The various tribes that reside in Kaiaama and where they reside were also discussed. Prominent among them are the Busonenu tribe, who are the original settlers/indigenes, the Hausas, Fulanis, Yorubas, Ibos, Igberas and Nupes' (Onibon, 2009, 9). It is interesting to note that among the eight women who participated in a mothers' focus group discussion, there were speakers of Hausa and Yoruba with Bokobaru used as the common language, according to the State Report (Personal field notes, 26th March 2009). According to the Kwara State research Report, most children in Kaiaama town attend school, and there are very few drop-outs. Borgu is an old school, established in 1924. The school has seven blocks of 13

classrooms, and 2 blocks with 6 toilets. There is a library and home economics block. There are 53 teachers, however, according to the teacher register in 2009, only 33 are in regular attendance. The total enrolment is 648, with a GPI of 1.03, indicating that more girls than boys are enrolled in this school.

Class	Boys	Girls	Total	GPI
ECCD	-	-	-	
1	70	62	132	0.89
2	43	62	105	1.44
3	55	41	96	0.75
4	45	68	113	1.51
5	50	44	94	0.88
6	56	52	108	0.93
TOTAL	319	329	648	1.03

The figures for 2009 show that although there is almost gender parity in overall enrolment, there are significant differences from year to year. Classes 2 and 4, for example, have significantly more girls than boys, while classes 1, 3 and 5 had more boys than girls. It is interesting that these disparities were not mentioned by any of the interviewees.

Alimosho Community Primary School, Lagos

This school is located in a new settlement area of Alimosho LGA. The catchment area is bounded by swamp on one side and a busy main road on the other. The school was established in 2001 at the request of the local community, on land they donated. A wall was erected around the school in 2005-2006 through a Capacity for Universal Basic Education (CUBE) initiative, Community Led Education Development Planning (CLEDEP). In 2009, There are six classrooms, and a borehole which is not functioning. Older girls fetch water from a nearby borehole. The students come from poor backgrounds – some students work as housegirls or houseboys - and there is an issue of poor nutrition. There are 15 teachers at the school. This is a double shift school, with a total of 569 pupils:

Class	Boys	Girls	Total	GPI
1	35	35	70	1.00
2	41	36	77	0.88
3	56	50	106	0.89
4	51	49	100	0.96
5	50	56	106	1.12
6	59	51	110	0.86
TOTAL	292	277	569	0.95

When the research team visited in 2009 they noted The school is well run and children appear to be learning well. At Alimosho, multiple classes were combined in one classroom, so that one class 4 classroom had more than 70 children squeezed into it (field notes, March 2009, La/al/ob/4). A female teacher describes the teaching environment as overcrowded, with 2-3 children on a bench. They cannot write easily, they are touching each other and sweating, and their parents don't provide materials (field notes, March 2009, La/al/ob/5c). In addition, she says:

Some children are not well fed, and can't learn easily as a result. Automatic promotion and transition is not helping. In our day we'd work hard to make sure your mates don't leave you behind. Now we're not allowed to give a zero or one – we must not fail pupils. So they get to secondary school unable to even write their names (field notes, March 2009).

The sense of disempowerment expressed by the teacher here is striking, since the children are promoted no matter what their level. And she freely admits that some of her students can't write at secondary level. But she blames it on the fact that the children are not well fed.

Akwonjo Community Primary School, Lagos

This school is located in a long-established community, in a densely populated part of Alimosho LGA in Lagos with a high-ranking and influential Oba. The school shares a large, walled compound with another primary school, and an abandoned building. In 2009 it had 13 well-maintained classrooms. There is a non-functional borehole, and there are no toilets. This school had 22 teachers. The enrolment in 2009 was as follows:

Class	Boys	Girls	Total	GPI
1	59	65	124	1.10

2	67	67	134	1.00
3	82	94	176	1.15
4	95	81	176	0.85
5	75	78	153	1.04
6	72	97	169	1.35
TOTAL	450	482	932	1.07

researchers observed up to 90 children in a classroom. This school is part of Cluster 2 SBMC, along with three other schools in this kingdom and a number of schools from other kingdoms. The Oba is active and very interested in education. He maintains a tight control of what happens on the SBMC. As at Alimosho, a spot check of children in Class 4 by the research team in 2009 revealed that they could read and write well.